CURRENT HISTORY

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J'ai un Rendezvous Avec la Mort

To Lindbergh

WRITTEN BY MAURICE ROSTAND ON LINDBERGH'S ARRIVAL AT PARIS; TRANSLATED BY FRANCIS SNOW, MANAGING EDITOR OF CURRENT HISTORY

ALL through the night you danced, and then at last,
You left at daybreak for an unknown goal,
*Like Alan Seeger * * * older, more steadfast,*
But poet too in soul.

You danced all night, and in the dawn's white light
You took your leave; and even yet the air
That saw you rise like a great bird in flight,
Trembles and quivers there.

And when you flew o'er Newfoundland, that still
Holds pious hearts, winging your lonely way
In Heaven's trackless waste, they watched you till
You passed—then kneeled to pray.

All that last day and night you danced, and then
At dawn you left upon your great emprize:
*That day your mother—(mothers of great men! * * *)*
Taught school with brave, bright eyes.

O dauntless soul, lost in the wind-swept skies,
Impregnate with the salty tang of brine,
Braving the storm, you flew as the bird flies,
Son of Evangeline!

And for one day, and half one day you flew
Above the immemorial vast seas.
Above the worlds; nor sleep nor respite knew,
*Nor any rest nor ease. * * **

Young pilgrim, prisoned in a dream of steel,
In dusky dawn and in the dusk twilight,
Know you who came your dream cell to unseal,
In saintly robes bedight?

Know you, young, reckless human spirit, who
Guided your way to Paris, all unseen?
And made you recognize an unknown view,
With gaze so clear and keen?

Know you who helped you overcome these Three—
*Death * * * and vast distance * * * and vast solitude;*
And helped you speed unerring o'er the sea,
With confidence imbued?

Nay, it was not the pride of this emprize,
Nor for your safety Europe's trembling hope,
Nor Bourget's wheeling light that struck your eyes,
*Nor your ship's periscope * * **

Nor all the prayers of two lands far apart,
Which for two days together hung on this,
Nor the deep yearning of your boyish heart
To know your Mother's kiss:

*No! You were led by a white radiance * * **
The mystic host of those brave boys who came
From your own land, to fight and die for France
(Too soon forgot—their name!)

And that which you—predestined—guided through
The peril that has swallowed up our brave,
Was but the whisper of your rendezvous
On their young grave!

Lindbergh's Epoch Making Flight From New York to Paris

By RUSSELL OWEN
STAFF CORRESPONDENT OF *The New York Times*

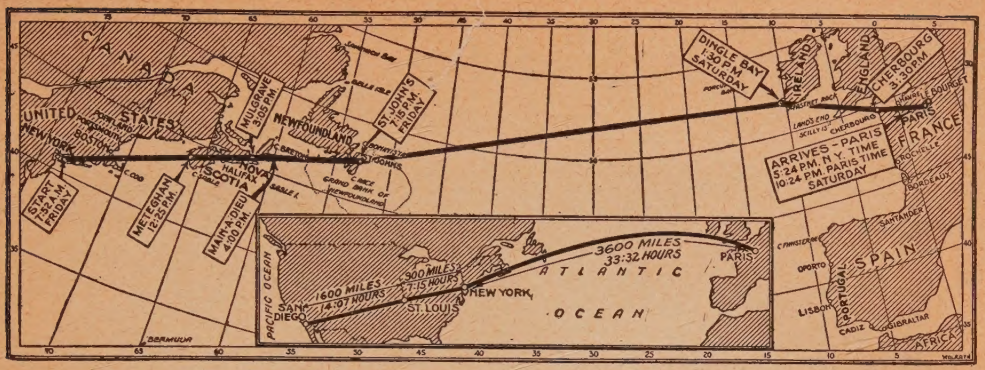
THE return of Captain Charles A. Lindbergh to this country brought to a climax the greatest individual triumph ever accorded an American, certainly the greatest triumph of an American abroad. Something in the heroic courage of young Lindbergh starting alone in his tiny plane across the sea, his brilliant success, and his captivating personality, made his achievement unique.

Men have sought parallels for his feat in many thousands of words, have combed the pages of history for something which equalled in its appeal this winged flight of youth above the desolation of the cold Atlantic and have admitted their failure. An epic of the air, the achievement is great because Lindbergh made it great, because his quiet and dauntless bravery, his youth and modesty and simple loyalty to his ideals, have made the peoples of two worlds love him and respect him.

Lindbergh did not vision all that his flight would accomplish. He did not foresee the quality of friendliness for his native land he would evoke from an erstwhile hostile people. He did not even dream of the extent of his own personal triumph. Modestly he asked for letters of introduction to his country's representative in France, because he was afraid nobody would know him when he got to Paris, and he did not want to be without guidance in a foreign land! This was the lad who was mobbed by his admirers, who was welcomed and decorated by Kings, who was flattered as few men have ever been flattered. And, so far, admiration has left him unspoiled, a triumph of character which is as great as the triumph of his flight.

There is good reason why people should hail Lindbergh and give him honor. He stands out in a grubby world as an inspiration of what idealistic youth can be. And it is because he so typifies the spirit of clean knighthood that men have honored him greatly. It is not only a tribute to Lindbergh's flight which has been seen in Paris and London, Brussels and New York; it is also a tribute to idealism, to that which men admire, and wish, so often vainly, for themselves. Lindbergh may fundamentally be just a fine, clean lad—he has become a symbol of much more to millions of people who pay tribute to him.

From the very beginning of this flight Lindbergh's character was apparent, as one looks back over the happenings of the days before he "hopped off." Lindbergh made his plans while he was an air mail pilot, flying his route through rain and snow and wind and starry night, and as he flew he turned over in his mind this great project—the ambition of all flying men who went in for big things. A great French ace had made one sad attempt and announced his plans for another. Byrd, the conqueror of the North Pole by air, had said he would try to fly to France. Noel Davis, a splendid pilot who sacrificed his



Lindbergh's route from New York to Paris. The smaller map (inset) shows his complete flight from San Diego, Cal.

life in his preparations, was to attempt the flight. Chamberlin, one of the ablest of the civilian pilots, who had flown in an endurance record, was an entrant. Across the Atlantic some of the daring French aces, among them the great Nungesser, were busily preparing. And up above the clouds on his night run Lindbergh, all alone, made his plans.

He interested some men in St. Louis, of whom Harry K. Knight was the chief. Lindbergh himself put in all his savings—$2,000—and then with $25,000 came east to try to buy the Bellanca plane, which he thought was best suited for the trip. His offer was refused. Not at all daunted, the youngster looked around for another plane which would meet the demands of load and speed. He found it in the Ryan monoplane, a plane which somewhat resembles the Bellanca, manufactured by the Ryan Air Lines, Inc., of San Diego, Cal. He had ten feet added to the wing span, had a few other alterations made, placed the huge fuel tank under the wing, and made a cockpit in back of it, all inside the fuselage, the oddest arrangement ever seen in the air. Then he declared himself ready. Plane, motor, tests and all, did not cost more than $25,000.

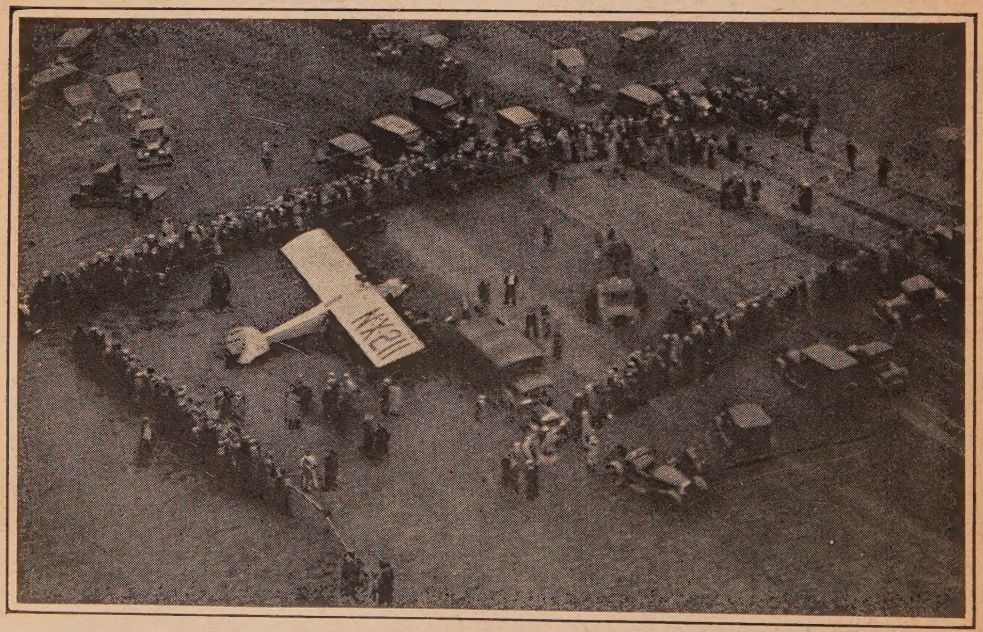
About the time he ordered this plane he sent in his entry for the $25,000 Orteig prize, and inquiries began to be made about this Captain Charles A. Lindbergh, who was to try one of the most dangerous flights in the world. It became known that he was a mail pilot who had made four forced descents with parachutes from disabled planes, who had been flying only a few years but was apparently a pilot of unusual courage and resource. Still, he was not taken very seriously. He had too

Wide World

The memorable moment as the Spirit of St. Louis, flown by Lindbergh, took off from Curtiss Field on the journey to Paris

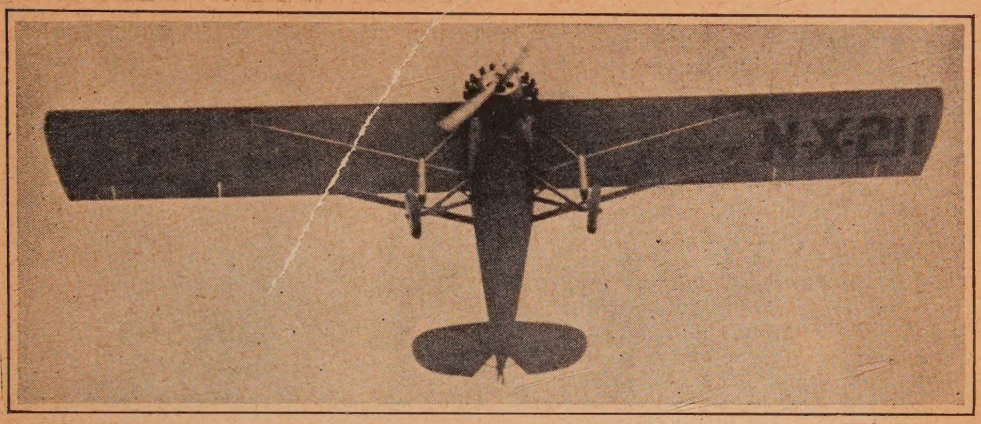
Wide World

Lindbergh standing in front of his machine, the Spirit of St. Louis



Wide World

The scene at Curtiss Field before Lindbergh's departure



Wide World

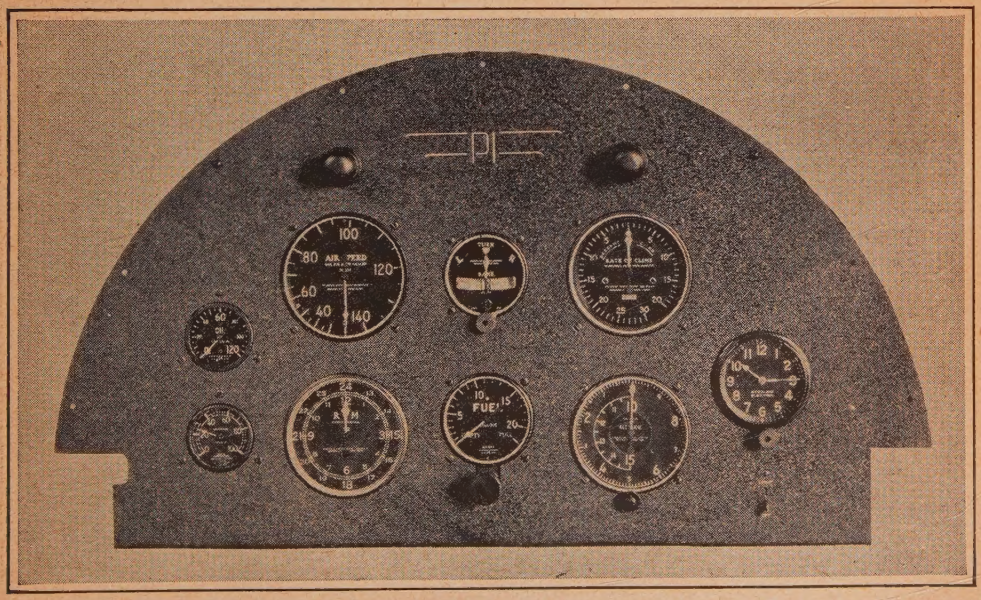
Another view of the Spirit of St. Louis in the air

much competition. The planes of Byrd and Davis were huge things, with three motors each. How could one man, alone, in a single-motored ship, compete with these noted fliers?

All this time there was not a word from Lindbergh. He did not talk and he did not say what he was going to do. He supervised the building of his plane, and then, when it was ready, tested it in a few trial flights. Nothing was heard from him for a few days. It was thought that the plane had not come up to his expectations, and again his rivalry was discounted. He could hardly be ready in time, anyway, it was thought. Davis was making tests, Byrd's plane was almost ready, the Bellanca was being equipped and was flying. Then Davis was killed, Byrd's plane turned over on its trial flight and was smashed, and the Bellanca was still undergoing tests of its capabilities.

Even after these accidents and delays, little thought was given to Lindbergh, until one day there came word from San Diego that he was ready to fly east. And what a flight that was!

He came on like a comet, with a dash



Pioneer instrument board used in the Wright-engined Ryan monoplane, the Spirit of St. Louis

which riveted the attention of all the flying men of the country. He left San Diego on May 9 in the afternoon and flew 1,600 miles to St. Louis in 14 hours and 5 minutes, which in itself was a record trip for one man alone in a plane. In this first flight he showed the skill in navigation which enabled him to find his way so unerringly across the Atlantic. His compass was 30 degrees off, the variations were severe, he flew all night and was unable to do more than estimate his drift, and yet when he reached St. Louis in the morning he was only fifteen miles off his course. It was in itself a brilliant piece of work.

The next day, May 11, he hopped off for New York and again came on like the wind, reaching Curtiss Field in only 7 hours and 15 minutes. He was so far ahead of his schedule that he took every one by surprise. There were some doubts even that day as to what sort of pilot he was and whether he was a serious contender for the trans-atlantic prize, but when his plane appeared and circled in wide swoops about the field his dramatic arrival took people by storm and there was a rush for him when he landed. He had made the trip from the Pacific Coast in 21 hours and 20 minutes, another record. A rumple-headed boy leaned out of the cockpit and smiled, and Lindbergh won the hearts of New Yorkers then and there, for the enthusiasm of the newspaper men for this cool, smiling lad was diffused next morning among all those who read.

There was not much to do to Lindbergh's plane. A few tests of his instruments, a check of the motor, and he was ready to go. But for a week he chafed, waiting for good weather, while men shook their heads and vowed that the lad could never make it. He could not stand the strain—one motor was too dangerous—how could he navigate without a sextant?

The Start for Paris

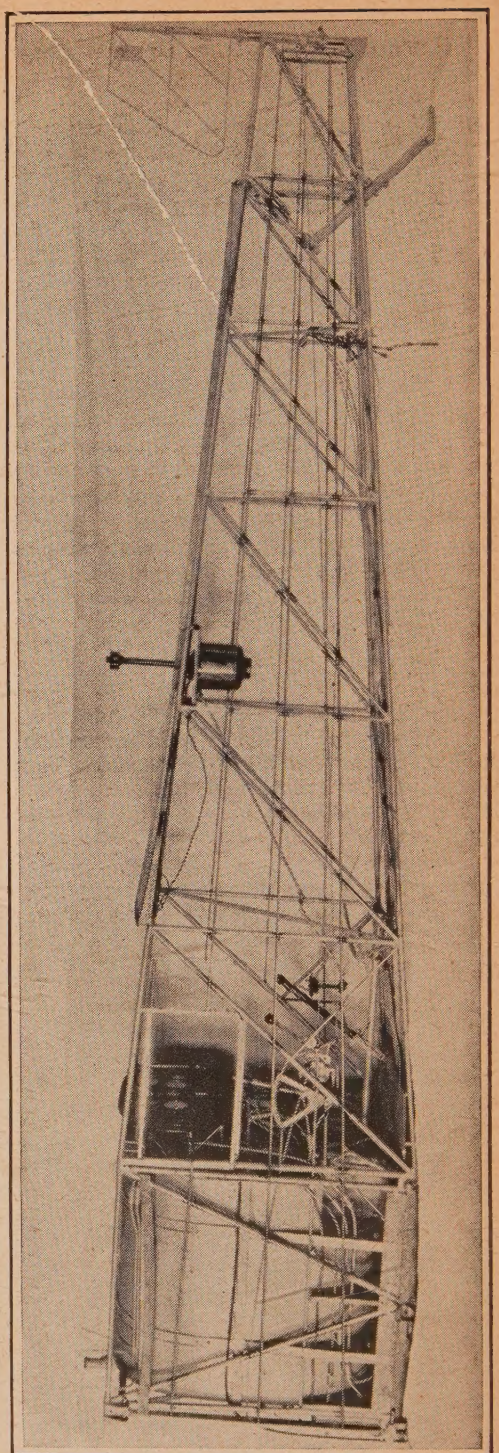
And then, one drizzling Friday morning, May 20, at 7:51:30 o'clock exactly, Lindbergh started for Paris. The dramatic beginning of that flight was reported as follows in *The New York Times:*

"So long," he said, as if he were starting off on an automobile trip.

The blocks were pulled from beneath the wheels, the motor roared and the heavy plane lumbered forward.

It moved with disheartening slowness. The field was wet and the wheels sank in deeply. A harder stretch was reached and the plane suddenly moved ahead and began to gather speed. And then a soft spot was struck and the speed dropped again.

Halfway down the runway went the lumbering plane, its wing lurching a little as it met



Fuselage of the Spirit of St. Louis, with earth inductor compass at top centre

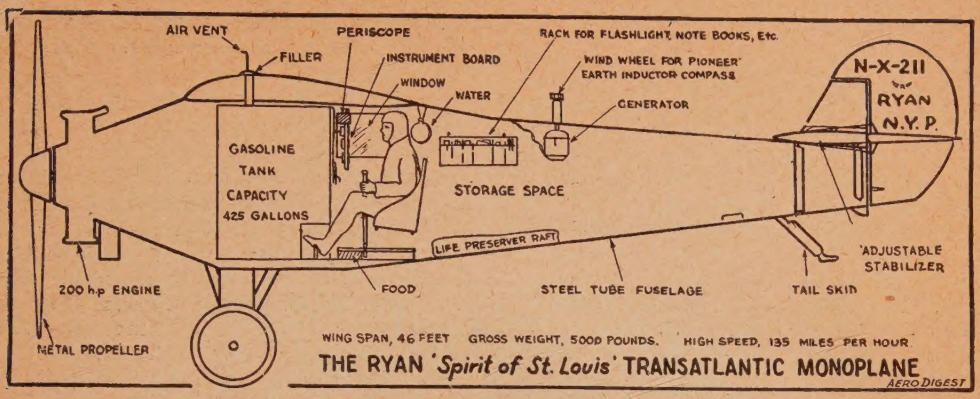


Diagram of the machine used by Lindbergh in his flight from America to Europe

bumps in the ground. It did not seem to get anywhere near flying speed, and those watching it groaned inwardly. Lindbergh was holding the tail down, as the plane was slightly nose heavy and he did not want to take the chance of letting her nose over and upsetting her. He was hoping she would get speed enough to lift of her own accord.

Still the motor roared and he lurched onward, hitting more rough spots, and still the plane did not get up flying speed. He had passed the point of safety, the point where he could stop his motor and try over again. Now he must either lift the plane or pile up in a gully at the end of the runway which he was approaching more and more rapidly.

Suddenly the plane jumped into the air. It had hit a bump which threw it upward, and apparently Lindbergh helped it go, in order to get rid of the sticky soil which clung to his wheels. The slight leap gave him a little more speed. But how quickly he came down, in a sort of leap-frogging jump!

Again the plane left the ground, sailed a little further and again came down. It did not have flying speed yet, and the end of the runway was just ahead of him. Commander Byrd, standing in front of his big machine, Bert Acosta in the cockpit, others near the end of the runway, looked on in fearful fascination. The boy had to do it or die.

It did not seem possible that he could get off. And then, at the last moment, the plane began to go up. Those on the field felt as if Lindbergh, with his great courage, was lifting it from the ground, making it take the air. Defeat and death stared him in the face and he gazed at it unafraid, intent only on the task which he had set himself.

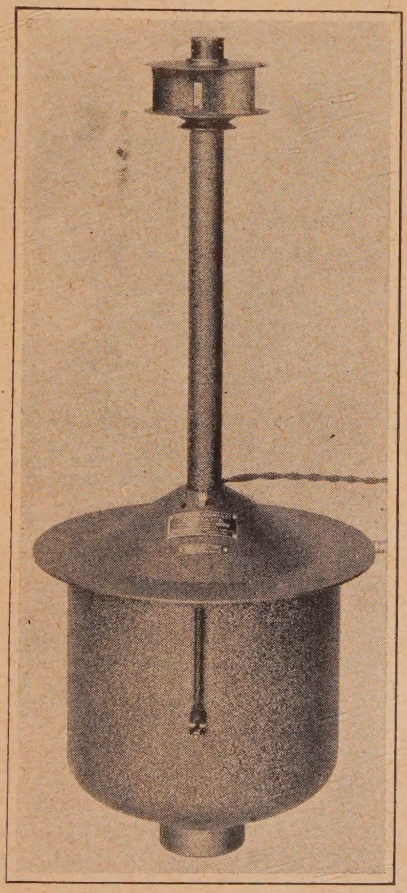
A few feet in the air he sailed by a little group of men. They saw his face for a moment outlined by the little window of the cabin. His head was slightly bent forward, eyes fastened on the dial which showed the revolutions of his motor. His jaw was set, his whole face grim with determination. The boyish lines had vanished in the terrific moment. Only the man of the lion heart was left, using his brain and the instinct of the trained flier to avoid destruction.

The wheels of the plane cleared by a bare ten feet a tractor which lay directly in his path. A gully was ahead into which he might have plunged, but which he left safely below. Over the telephone lines he passed with a scant twenty feet to spare.

Ahead was the rolling, open country of a golf course. A line of trees on a slight slope lay beyond, a mile or two away. The silver plane dropped a little as if to gather speed and then lifted upward again, but so slowly! It could hardly be seen to rise, and men watched it with anguish in their gaze.

The plane turned a little to the right and then swung back again toward the lowest point in the tree line against the sky, as if Lindbergh had been sweeping it with his periscope, looking for an opening. And then, very gradually but surely, the wide silver wing lifted toward the skyline at the tree tops, over it, and a space of pale sky showed between it and the green line beneath.

A soft glow came above the clouds, the first of the sun breaking through. Far off above the trees the silver wing dipped and was gone.

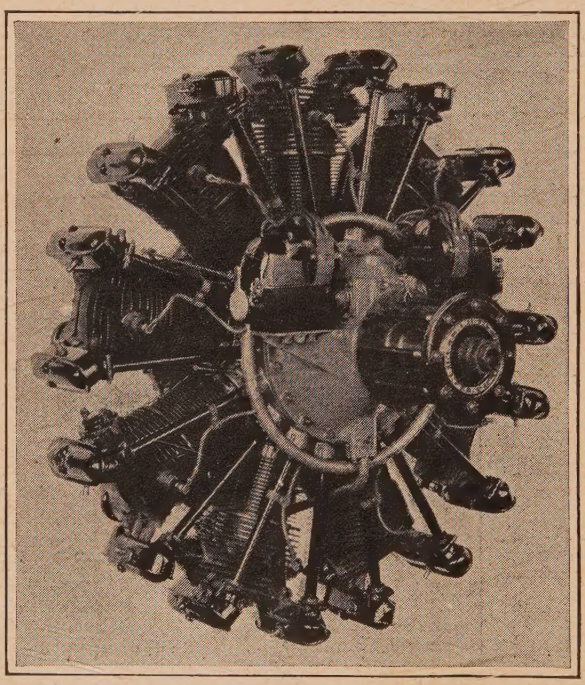


Pioneer earth inductor compass generator used on Lindbergh's machine

Lindbergh was on his way to Paris.

Those who saw that start will never forget it. So magnificent was it that all that day millions of people sought word of his progress. Late at night he was reported at St. John's, Newfoundland, circling to get his bearings, and then he shot out over the sea and was gone.

Of that trip over the ocean Lindbergh has given his own simple version. The night was a dreary time. He saw icebergs and drift ice, and then reached an area of sleet-laden clouds, which mean death to airmen. He went up high to get away from the treacherous ice which clung to his plane, spoiling the flying curve of the wing, and finally emerged in daylight in a warmer area, with the worst peril of the journey behind him. He was not seen again until about 500 miles off the Irish coast, when a German ship sighted him and relayed the news through another steamer. Finally, on Saturday afternoon, he was seen over Ireland. He had hit the coast near Dingle Bay, within three miles of his course. "Twenty-five miles would have been navigation, three miles was luck," said Lindbergh.



The Wright "Whirlwind" air-cooled motor, a radial nine-cylinder engine, developing 225 horsepowér, which was designed by Charles A. Lawrence and used to propel Lindbergh's machine

His progress from then on was watched with increasing hope and anticipation. Out at Le Bourget Field, near Paris, a huge throng began to gather, more than 100,000 people, drawn by the magic of this marvelous flight. Hour after hour they waited, and then out of the night, in the flare of landing lights, the silver plane appeared and dropped gently to the ground.

The scene which took place then has baffled every experienced reporter who saw it. It was literally indescribable. The mass of people rolled toward the plane, overwhelming policemen and soldiers, trampling down wire fences as if they were cardboard, mad in their desire to reach the young pilot and see him. He was hurried into a car by French officers and taken to a building where he was hidden for two hours and then smuggled into Paris to the American Embassy.

The next few days were days of triumph which have rarely been seen in the world's history. The character of Lindbergh stood out pre-eminently; everything he did was in good taste, was a graceful tribute to the people who welcomed him. Ambassador Herrick called him "our new Ambassador," and he was, for all the bitterness of the French against America seemed to disappear in the warmth of their admiration for a feat the dramatic and romantic qualities of which appealed to their Gallic temperaments.

When Lindbergh appeared on the balcony of the Embassy and answered the shouts of the crowd with the cry, *"Vive la France!"* he won their hearts. When he made his first call on Mme. Nungesser, mother of the French ace who was lost trying to cross the Atlantic, he again did something which won him applause.

Paris went wild over this gallant youth who bore his honors so modestly and always did and said the right thing. On May 23 the Cross of the Legion of Honor was pre-

Continued on page 608

...ndbergh's Own Story

...e History Of The Atlantic Flight As Told By Himself

By CAPTAIN CHARLES A. LINDBERGH

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PARIS, May 22.—Well, here I am in the hands of American Ambassador Herrick. From what I have seen of it, I am sure I am going to like Paris.

It isn't part of my plans to fly my plane back to the United States, although that doesn't mean I have finished my flying career. If I thought that was going to be the result of my flight across the Atlantic, you may be sure I would never have undertaken it. Indeed, I hope that I will be able to do some flying over here in Europe—that is, if the souvenir hunters left enough of my plane last night.

Incidentally, that reception I got was the most dangerous part of the whole flight. If wind and storm had handled me as vigorously as that Reception Committee of Fifty Thousand I would never have reached Paris and wouldn't be eating a 3-o'clock-in-the-afternoon breakfast here in Uncle Sam's Embassy.

There's one thing I wish to get straight about this flight. They call me "Lucky," but luck isn't enough. As a matter of fact, I had what I regarded and still regard as the best existing plane to make the flight from New York to Paris. I had what I regard as the best engine, and I was equipped with what were in the circumstances the best possible instruments for making such efforts. I hope I made good use of what I had.

That I landed with considerable gasoline left means that I had recalled the fact that so many flights had failed because of lack of fuel, and that was one mistake I tried to avoid.

All in all, I couldn't complain of the weather. It wasn't what was predicted. It was worse in some places and better in others. In fact, it was so bad once that for a moment there came over me the temptation to turn back. But then I figured it was probably just as bad behind me as in front of me, so I kept on toward Paris.

We (that's my ship and I) took off rather suddenly. We had a report somewhere around 4 o'clock in the afternoon before that the weather would be fine, so we thought we would try it. We had been told we might expect good weather mostly during the whole of the way. But we struck fog and rain over the coast not far from the start. Actually, it was comparatively easy to get to Newfoundland, but real bad weather began just about dark, after leaving Newfoundland, and continued until about four hours after daybreak. We hadn't expected that at all, and it sort of took us by surprise, morally and physically. That was when I began to think about turning back.

Then sleet began, and, as all aviators know, in a sleet storm one may be forced down in a very few minutes. It got worse and worse. There, above and below me, and on both sides, was that driving storm. I made several detours trying to get out of it, but in vain. I flew as low as ten feet above the water and then mounted up to 10,000 feet. Along toward morning the storm eased off, and I came down to a comparatively low level.

I had seen one ship just before losing sight of Newfoundland, and I saw the glow of several others afterward through the mist and storm. During the day I saw no ships until near Ireland.

I had, as I said, no trouble before I hit the storm I referred to. We had taken off at 7:55 in the morning. The field was slightly damp and soft, so the take-off was longer than it would have been otherwise. I had no trouble getting over the houses and trees. I kept out of the way of every obstacle and was careful not to take any unnecessary chances. As soon as I cleared

everything, the motor was throttled down to three-fourths and kept there during the whole flight, except when I tried to climb over the storm.

Soon after starting I was out of sight of land for 300 miles, from Cape Cod over the sea to Nova Scotia. The motor was acting perfectly and was carrying well the huge load of 451 gallons of gasoline and 20 gallons of oil, which gave my ship the greatest cruising radius of any plane of its type.

I passed over St. John's, N. F., purposely going out of my way a few miles to check up. I went right through the narrow pass, going down so low that it could be definitely established where I was at that hour. That was the last place I saw before taking to the open sea.

I had made preparations before I started for a forced landing if it became necessary, but after I started I never thought much about the possibility of such a landing. I was ready for it, but I saw no use thinking about it, inasmuch as one place would have been about as good or as bad as another.

Despite the talk about my periscope, I had no trouble in regard to visibility. The view I had on both sides was quite good enough for navigating the ocean, and the purpose of the periscope was only to enable me to see any obstacle directly in front of me. The periscope was useful in starting from New York and landing in Paris. Other than that I used it very little. I kept a map in front of me and an instrument showing practically where I was all the time.

The Flight Across the Ocean

Shortly after leaving Newfoundland I began to see icebergs. There was a low fog and even through it I could make out bergs clearly. It began to get very cold, but I was well prepared for cold. I had on ordinary flying clothing, but I was down in the cockpit, which protected me, and I never suffered from the weather.

Within an hour after leaving the coast it became dark. Then I struck clouds and decided to try to get over them. For a while I succeeded, at a height of 10,000 feet. I flew at this height until early morning. The engine was working beautifully and I was not sleepy at all. I felt just as if I was driving a motor car over a smooth road, only it was easier.

Then it began to get light and the clouds got higher. I went under some and over others. There was sleet in all of those clouds and the sleet began to cling to the plane. That worried me [illegible] debated whether I should [illegible] back. I decided I must not think [illegible] about going back. I realized that it [illegible] henceforth only a question of getting there. It was too far to turn back.

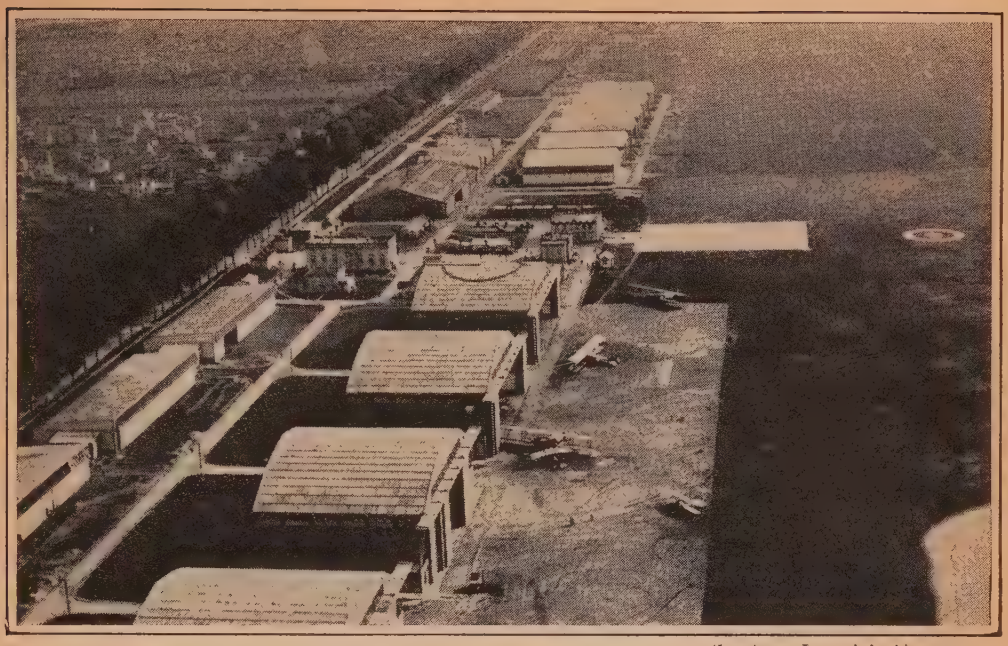
The engine was working perfectly and that cheered me. I was going along a hundred miles an hour and I knew that if the motor kept on turning I would get there. After that I thought only about navigating, and then I thought that I wasn't so badly off after all.

It was true that the flight was thirty-four hours long, and that at almost any moment in it a forced landing might be what you might call "rather interesting," but I remembered that the flying boys I knew back home spent hours almost every week in bad flying when a forced landing would have been just as bad for them as a forced landing would have been for me. Those boys don't get credit for it, that's all, and without doubt in a few years many people will be taking just as many chances as I took.

The only real danger I had was at night. In the daytime I knew where I was going, but in the evening and at night it was largely a matter of guesswork. However, my instruments were so good that I never could get more than 200 miles off my course, and that was easy to correct, and I had enough extra gasoline to take care of a number of such deviations. All in all, the trip across the Atlantic, especially the latter half, was much better than I expected.

Laymen have made a great deal of the fact that I sailed without a navigator and without the ordinary stock of navigation instruments; but my real director was my earth inductor compass. I also had a magnetic compass, but it was the inductor compass which guided me so faithfully that I hit the Irish coast only three miles from the theoretic point that I might have hit if I had had a navigator. I replaced a navigator's weight by the inductor compass. This compass behaved so admirably that I am ashamed to hear any one talk about my luck. Maybe I am lucky, but all the same I knew at every moment where I was going.

The inductor compass is based on the principle of the relation between the earth's magnetic field and the magnetic field generated in the airplane. When the course has been set so that the needle registers zero on this compass, any deviation, from any cause, would cause the needle to swing away from zero in the direction of the



Courtesy Imperial Airways

Le Bourget, the great Paris air terminal

error. By flying the plane with the needle at an equal distance on the other side of zero and for about the same time the error had been committed, the plane would be back on her course again. This inductor compass was so accurate that I really needed no other guide.

Fairly early in the afternoon I saw a fleet of fishing boats. On some of them I could see no one, but on one of them I saw some men and flew down, almost touching the craft, and shouted at them, asking if I was on the right road to Ireland.

They just stared. Maybe they didn't hear me. Maybe I didn't hear them. Or maybe they thought I was just a crazy fool.

Reaches Irish Coast—Flight to France

An hour later I saw land. I have forgotten just what time it was. It must have been shortly before 4 o'clock. It was rocky land and all my study told me it was Ireland. And it was Ireland!

I slowed down and flew low enough to study the land and be sure of where I was; and, believe me, it was a beautiful sight. It was the most wonderful looking piece of natural scenery I have ever beheld.

After I had made up my mind that it was Ireland, the right place for me to strike rather than Spain or some other country, the rest was child's play. I had my course all marked out carefully from approximately the place where I hit the coast, and you know it is quite easy to fly over strange territory if you have good maps and your course prepared.

I flew quite low enough over Ireland to be seen, but apparently no great attention was paid to me. I also flew low over England, mounted a little over the Channel and then came down close to land when I passed a little west of Cherbourg. From Cherbourg I headed for the Seine and followed it upstream.

I noticed it gets dark much later over here than in New York and I was thankful for that. What especially pleased me was the ease with which I followed my course after hitting the coast of Ireland.

When I was about half an hour away from Paris I began to see rockets and Very lights sent up from the air field, and I knew I was all right.

I saw an immense vertical electric sign, which I made out to be the Eiffel Tower. I circled Paris once and immediately saw Le Bourget [the aviation field], although I didn't know at first what it was. I saw a lot of lights, but in the dark I couldn't make out any hangars. I sent Morse signals as I flew over the field, but no one

appeared to have seen them. The only mistake in all my calculations was that I thought Le Bourget was northeast rather than east of Paris.

Fearing for a moment that the field I had seen—remember I couldn't see the crowd—was some other air field than Le Bourget, I flew back over Paris to the northwest, looking for Le Bourget. I was slightly confused by the fact that whereas in America when a ship is to land beacons are put out when floodlights are turned on, at Le Bourget both beacons and floodlights were going at the same time.

I was anxious to land where I was being awaited. So when I didn't find another airfield I flew back toward the first lights I had seen, and flying low I saw the lights of numberless automobiles. I decided that was the right place, and I landed.

I appreciated the reception which had been prepared for me, and had intended taxiing up to the front of the hangars, but no sooner had my plane touched ground than a human sea swept toward it. I saw there was danger of killing people with my propeller, and I quickly came to a stop.

That reception was the most dangerous part of the trip. Never in my life have I seen anything like that human sea. It isn't clear to me yet just what happened. Before I knew it I had been hoisted out of the cockpit, and one moment was on the shoulders of some men and the next moment on the ground.

It seemed to be even more dangerous for my plane than for me. I saw one man tear away the switch and another took something out of the cockpit. Then, when they started cutting pieces of cloth from the wings, I struggled to get back to the plane, but it was impossible. A brave man with good intentions tried to clear a way for me with a club. Swinging the club back, he caught me on the back of the head. It isn't true that I was exhausted. I was tired, but I wasn't exhausted. Several French officers asked me to come away with them and I went, casting anxious glances at my ship. I haven't seen it since, but I am afraid it suffered. I would regret that very much because I want to use it again.

But I must remember that that crowd did welcome me. Good Lord! There must have been a million of them. Other men will fly the Atlantic as I did, but I think it safe to assume that none of them will get any warmer reception than I got.

Finally I reached Ambassador Herrick's house and I have certainly been all right since then.

I don't know how long I will stay in Paris. It looks like a good place. I have been asked if I intend to fly back to New York. I don't think I shall try that. But I certainly hope to get a little flying over here. Flying is my job, and because I did this job successfully it doesn't mean I'm through.

I look forward to the day when transatlantic flying will be a regular thing. It is a question largely of money. If people can be found willing to spend enough to make proper preparations, there is no reason why it can't be made very practical. Of course, there are many things to be studied, one of the important points being whether the single-motor or multimotor ship is best. I understand there is soon to be a transatlantic flight made with a tri-motor plane. [This is evidently a reference to Commander Byrd's projected flight.]

FURTHER DETAILS OF HISTORIC TRIP

PARIS, May 23.—I am convinced that it is much easier to fly from America to Europe than to fly from Europe to America. The air drift is from west to east, and the prevailing wind, when the weather is good, is from the southwest or northwest. If the wind is from the east, favoring flight from Europe, then the weather is likely to be bad.

During my flight I was helped enormously by the fact that I had a tail wind for fully a third of the way, especially the last part. It put me right ahead of my time schedule. I expected to make the trip in thirty-six hours, but my actual time was thirty-three hours and twenty minutes.

I see today that the two English fliers, Lieutenants Carr and Gillman, on their flight to India, flew thirty-three hours and thirty-three minutes, just a few minutes longer than I took. It was particularly bad luck that they should have failed when so near the end of their journey and after such a long flight. That within the same period as I made my trip two other men with a different machine should cover almost the same distance is proof that there is nothing freakish about my trip. Airplanes and men can do it, and every attempt, even though they don't all succeed, is helping aviation forward every day.

Before I tried the New York-Paris flight

construction of the ship was begun on the twentieth of February, and within exactly sixty days she did her first trial.

If I have been lucky, it was because I was fitted out with a perfect ship, equipped by men who took every care and precaution. Nothing was overlooked, and from the first we never had any trouble or setback. I had the pick of everything in the way of equipment.

ment of weather observation in the North Atlantic. Regular observation ships will have to be kept there during the flying months, sending out morning and evening reports of atmospheric conditions.

The sleet which I met might, if it had been heavier, have ended my trip very soon after I left Newfoundland, for it takes very little to force a plane down. If I had known I was to encounter sleet, I might

Lindbergh with Gaston Doumergue, the French President, and Myron T. Herrick, the United States Ambassador to France

For a flight of the kind I planned, my monoplane was undoubtedly the best ship. For regular transatlantic service, of course, something heavier, with multiple motors, will have to be developed, and I am very interested to see what will be the result of the Fokker trip with a tri-motor plane. I am sure they will get here. [The America.]

My trip was just a quick, single man's jump. Later, there will have to be developed water stations and regular ports of call, as, for instance, in South Ireland and Newfoundland, for transatlantic service. We shall have to have, too, far greater development of weather observation in the North Atlantic. Regular observation ships will have to be kept there during the flying months, sending out morning and evening reports of atmospheric conditions.

never have started when I did. It was fortunate for me that I was able to rise above it most of the time, and I never was happier about anything than when the temperature rose and I got out of that danger.

To my mind, proper meteorological observation and reports about conditions over the Atlantic are the first essentials in any development of transatlantic flying. * * *

That will come, I feel sure. Though my monoplane is the first to make the [illegible] from New York to Paris, it is going t[illegible] many successors. Regular service,

can only be done with multimotor planes, so that if one motor stops the plane can return. You cannot expect passengers to trust themselves to a single-motored ship.

My machine, from a pilot's point of view, had the great advantage that the cabin was practically enclosed and I was well sheltered. I think that if I had been exposed to wind and sleet I would have been far more tired than I was. I see that some airmen who have looked at my ship think I must have been very uncomfortable. Perhaps the seat looks more uncomfortable than it is. Actually, I was perfectly at my ease, except, of course, that I had to sit in the same position so long. But when one is busy with a problem and working one never thinks much about that. I scarcely remember now if I ever thought about discomfort at all. My seat was really far more comfortable than one usually finds in a theatre or classroom, and I didn't feel in any way ped or strained.

regard to eating and drinking, I had ch the same disregard for physical sensations. I took two or three drinks of water from a big supply I had, but never much at a time. I never drink alcohol at all, and I never felt really thirsty until I landed. Then I wanted to drink a lot, and I kept on drinking milk and water all that evening after I got to the American Embassy.

Of my sandwiches I ate only one and a half, and I cannot remember now in the least what they tasted like. All airmen know quite well how indifferent one is to meal times and physical needs when one concentrates on getting anywhere. My compass kept my interest all the way. I couldn't do more than attend to it and watch the weather.

I brought a sealed barograph with me, which will tell an interesting story of the heights at which I flew. I can see through the glass cover one very high peak where I must have gone fully 10,000 feet, though just before I had been close down on the water. The climbing power of the plane, even while I still had a heavy load of gas-

Wide World

Lindbergh and Ambassador Herrick with the newspaper representatives at the American Embassy in Paris

International

Lindbergh, accompanied by Ambassador Herrick, saluting the colors of the Thirty-fourth Regiment of the French Army at Le Bourget

International

Lindbergh autographing albums for French officers stationed at Le Bourget aerodrome

oline, was one of the factors which made success possible. If my ship hadn't been able to climb as she did the sleet would have proved far more dangerous.

I was greatly relieved today when I went to Le Bourget to find that less damage had been done to my ship by souvenir hunters than I had feared. There was some one with a sharp knife who now is in possession of a nice-sized square of the fuselage, and one or two other little bits of damage have been done, but it can all be repaired in an hour or two, and within the next few days I hope to be able to fly over Paris and let all the folk who have been so kind to me see us in the air.

LINDBERGH'S RECEPTION IN FRANCE

CAPTAIN LINDBERGH landed at Le Bourget flying field, Paris, at 10:24 P. M., May 21. His welcome there, perhaps the most spontaneous of any of his series of European triumphs, has been vividly described by Edwin L. James, Paris correspondent of *The New York Times* as follows:

The crowd kept on growing until all the houses around looked like a sugar barrel in August when a lot of flies are loose. It was cold. * * *

Then about 9:30, by a strange freak of mob psychology, thousands got gloomy. They seemed to think all the reports about Lindbergh's being on the way were like the sad news about Nungesser and Coli. Expressions of sorrow for Lindbergh went the rounds and sincere regrets for the fate of such a brave lad. * * *

Ten o'clock struck. A sort of shiver went through the crowd and we were thinking of the tears which were going to be shed, when all of a sudden the thousands were electrified by the sound of a motor. There was a plane up above us somewhere. The landing lights went up. Every one thought it was Captain Lindbergh and a vast silence swept over and through as more than 100,000 pairs of eyes strained. And then the sound of the motor died out and the lights went down.

It was Lindbergh, as was shown by his story later. He had mistaken the location of Le Bourget and gone elsewhere looking for it. But the crowd did not know that. Their hopes died down and they settled for the inevitable wait until there was no more hope.

Then there was that whirring again. One of the reporters strained his eyes and shouted: "My God, look!"

There, 500 meters above us, was a gray-white monoplane, right over our heads. Then it faded and the noise of the motor stopped. We thought it a hallucination, and a glance at the crowd showed that very few had seen it. Certainly the officer in charge had not, for the lights did not go on.

Then in a moment the glares went on, and turning we saw, just as if thrown on a silver screen, a white-gray monoplane, twenty feet from the ground and softly settling.

We raced as hard as we could toward the plane, which landed perhaps 500 yards from where we stood. Suddenly we found ourselves confronting the whirring propellor bearing straight at us. We tried to halt. Good Lord! That crowd hit us like a shot out of a cannon. The propellor stopped turning when we were six feet from it.

The men from the military side of the field had now reached Captain Lindbergh and were pulling him from the plane. We could see he was struggling. He fell on the ground once and then was on the shoulders of a dozen men.

By this time we were jammed up against the plane, with a mighty roar behind us. Ducking, we went under the Spirit of St. Louis and out under the tail.

And then we turned to look and saw a sight words cannot paint. One hundred thousand men and women, with policemen and soldiers mixed among them, were sweeping down toward Captain Lindbergh and his plane.

That sight of those countless bobbing heads between us and the flares can never be forfotten. Fences, line soldiers, reception committees—all had been swallowed up.

And then we saw Captain Lindbergh with several French aviators trying to fight their way out. Throwing away their rifles, soldiers formed a ring around him, only to be swept away. One man swung his cane to free a path for Lindbergh—and hit the aviator on the head.

Suddenly we saw that we had lost Lindbergh. We knew later that one of the French officers had put his coat about him, shoved him into the human mass and then wormed out with him into a little side building, where the lights were turned out and the aviator was kept for two hours in darkness rather than have his protectors take the risk of having him mobbed.

"Say," remarked a reporter, "I wish the editor who sent that message had been here to 'isolate him.' That's what I wish."

Late as it was and tired as he must have been, Lindbergh, on his way from Le Bourget, paused at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier before going to the American Embassy, which was to be his headquarters during his stay in Paris.

The next day, May 22, was spent principally in recuperating from the tremendous strain he had undergone, though he, in the afternoon, did yield to the tumultous demands of the crowd and appeared with Ambassador Herrick on the balcony of the Embassy. He also visited Mme. Nungesser, mother of the famous flier who disappeared while attempting Lindbergh's feat. Ambassador Herrick telegraphed to President Coolidge in reply to his message of congratulation: "If we had deliberately sought a type to represent the youth, intrepid, adventurous, of America and the immortal bravery of Nungesser and Coli, we could not have fared as well as in this boy of divine, ingenuous and simple courage."

President Gaston Doumergue paid the flier a signal honor at the Elysée Palace on May 23 when he pinned on Lindbergh's breast the Cross of the Legion of Honor, which he has never before personally presented to an American. Lindbergh then went to a reception given by the Aero Club of France, at which were present most of the leading French aces. He was presented with the gold medal conferred only on distinguished aviators and won the hearts of all by saying in his speech of acknowledgment that "Nungesser and Coli had gloriously failed" in attempting "a much more courageous feat" than his own. Following this came an interview with Premier Poincaré, who referred to his deed as a "historic contribution," and stated that "its effect on the two nations had been excellent."

The Americans of Paris, some 5,000 strong, gave the young aviator a special welcome on May 24 on the occasion of his lunching at the American Club. In his speech, Lindbergh brought out some interesting sidelights on his flight, when he told how the trip had been planned in St. Louis, as long ago as last Fall; and that the name "Spirit of St. Louis" was intended to convey a certain meaning to the people of France." He also paid a tribute to his motor (Wright Whirlwind) which was sixty-one hours in the air, constantly in motion, without suffering any breakdown. "This fact alone demonstrates," he said, "the reliability of the commercial motors today and the trip itself the practicability of transatlantic flying under certain fixed conditions."

The reception by the French Chamber of Deputies on May 25 marked, perhaps, the highest point in the flood of acclaim, for on this occasion was clearly brought out the international significance of Lindbergh's achievement. After President Bouisson had extended the official welcome, General Giraud, President of the Army Commission of the Chamber, greeted the flier "in the name of those others who in the Lafayette Escadrille died for France, who, like you, helped to frame that unalterable fraternity, that indissoluble friendship which unites our two peoples." Ambassador Herrick replied that he "had always wished to show France my own country as I know it and love it," and presented Lindbergh "the new Ambassador of the United States," as the embodiment of his ideal of an American. Lindbergh then spoke, saying he believed his

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Lindbergh inspecting the damage done to his machine by souvenir hunters

flight to be "the forerunner of a great air service from America to France, from America to Europe, which will bring our peoples together, nearer in understanding and in friendship than they have ever been."

The young aviator then lunched with Louis Blériot, the "Father of Old World Aviation," who heralded him as the "prophet of a new era when flying will be as common as steamship travel," and presented him with a fragment of the propeller of the plane in which he crossed the English Channel in 1909.

On May 27 Lindbergh visited Marshal Foch and General Joffre and the war "mutilés" at the Invalides, "the heroes of war," saluting "the hero of the air." Lunch with M. Briand followed at the Quai d'Orsay where he received the gold plaque struck in honor of the Lafayette Escadrille. He then drove in procession through cheering crowds, numbering half a million, to the Hôtel de Ville where he received the "keys of the city" and waved the flags of America and France from the balcony. He acknowledged the welcome of the City of Paris in the following words:

> I am not going to try to thank you for all the wonderful receptions you have given me, because I am too full of emotion to attempt it. However, there is one thought that I would like to leave with you; that is, that I believe my flight is the forerunner of regular commercial air service uniting my country with yours in a manner in which they have never been united before, which I believe was the idea M. Blériot had in mind in 1909 when he flew the Channel. * * * If those great heroes, Nungesser and Coli, had landed in New York, I believe they would have expressed a very similar thought.

Flying a small French pursuit plane on May 27, Lindbergh did "stunts" over Paris that caused many to fear for him, knowing the machine was unfamiliar. However, he said later that "he thought it was right to let the French airmen see that he had complete confidence in it." Minister Painlevé, who was Wilbur Wright's first passenger in France, entertained him at luncheon, after which he went to the Luxembourg and was given a welcome by the French Senate.

RECEPTION IN BELGIUM

ON the morning of May 28 Colonel Lindbergh took off from Paris in "The Spirit of St. Louis," with Brussels, Belgium, as his destination. He soon outdistanced his escort of French planes, dropped farewell messages at Paris and the battle area of Senlis, and landed at Evere Flying Field at 3:09 P. M. The Duke of Brabant, heir to the Belgian throne, greeted him. Here, in contrast to his other receptions, the huge crowd which welcomed him was kept in bounds by over 5,000 troops. Stopping to place a wreath on the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, he proceeded to the palace, where he was received by King Albert and the royal family. He was granted a thirty-minute interview, at the end of which the King presented him with the decoration of Chevalier of the Royal Order of Leopold. Soon put at his ease by the King, who is an enthusiast on the subject of aviation, Lindbergh later characterized him as "a lot more democratic than other people I know who aren't kings."

The Belgian Aero Club later presented Lindbergh with its Medaille d'Or and the Belgian Aviator Medal, both much coveted decorations. At the dinner in his honor given at the Aero Club of Brussels, where he sat between the Duke of Brabant and Premier Jaspar, the fact was again strongly brought out that his flight had forged new and more cordial bonds of friendship with the United States.

Burgomaster Max received him in the historic Hotel de Ville on May 29 and awarded a decoration in the name of the City of Brussels.

RECEPTION IN ENGLAND

COLONEL LINDBERGH left Brussels in his monoplane, "The Spirit of St. Louis," on May 29 at 3:31 P. M. and descended on English soil at the Croydon Airdrome (near London) at 5:55 P. M., after a rapid flight across the Channel. Here a throng variously estimated at between 100,000 and 150,000 people surged forward to greet him after three hours impatient waiting, storming the police cordons and breaking up the entire reception program that had been planned. The ensuing complications were finally disposed of, the aviator's plane was guarded by police, and Lindbergh himself was finally transferred to Ambassador Houghton's automobile, which rapidly covered the thirteen miles to London.

Colonel Lindbergh was the recipient of many honors in England. On May 30 he was the guest of honor at a private lunch-

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Lindbergh in the Spirit of St. Louis surrounded by a huge crowd on his arrival at Croydon near London

eon given by Ambassador Houghton at the American Embassy, attended by Sir Austen Chamberlain, British Secretary for Foreign Affairs; Sir Samuel Hoare and many other notables. In the afternoon he attended the Memorial Day service at St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, commemorating the American officers and men who lie buried in the British Isles. In the evening he was entertained by the American newspaper men in London.

On May 31 Colonel Lindbergh met his second King, in this case King George of England, and, as he admitted himself in an article by him published subsequently, his preconceived ideas of Kings and royal pomp and ceremony were completely shattered. He conversed with the King for about a quarter of an hour, the subject discussed being mainly about Lindbergh's flight. He also met Queen Mary and received from King George the Flying Force Cross. Later he called on the Prince of Wales and on Premier Baldwin at 10 Downing Street, "that little house from which so big a slice of this world is being run." [Lindbergh's own comment.] In the afternoon he had tea with Lord and Lady Astor at the House of Commons.

High Tribute From British Airmen

In the evening he was the guest at a large dinner at the Savoy Hotel arranged by the Royal Aero Club and other aero clubs in Great Britain. This was Lindbergh's greatest test as a speaker since his landing at Le Bourget, for here were assembled all Britain's greatest air chiefs and the heroes of many flights from England to various parts of the world; this was the most distinguished gathering of aviators that had ever sat down together in England. High tribute was paid the American aviator, especially by Lord Thomson, Chairman of the Royal Aero Club. The high point of enthusiasm, however, was reached when Sir Hugh Trenchard, Air Chief Marshal, said: Captain Lindbergh, the Royal Air Force and all other British fliers take their hats off to you." This brought the 500 diners to their feet amid a chorus of ringing cheers. Colonel Lindbergh, in his address, paid

graceful tribute to a number of famous British airmen. At the close of the dinner, Colonel Lindbergh was presented with The Daily Mail Aviation Cup, instituted by Lord Northcliffe.

On the next day (June 1) Colonel Lindbergh witnessed his first Derby, which apparently brought him no thrill. Surrounded by many of the most distinguished personages of the British Empire and the centre of attention from tens of thousands, the young American flier found it difficult to keep his eyes off the airplanes circling and manoeuvring overhead. In the evening he attended the American Societies' banquet, at which he made a humorous reference to the effect of the terrific impact of hospitality upon his constitution. On this occasion he received an eloquent tribute from Sir Samuel Hoare and other persons noted in aviation.

On June 2 Colonel Lindbergh was the guest of officers of the Royal Air Force at Kenley Airdrome. On Friday, June 3, he "hopped off from Kenley on his return trip to Paris, as described elsewhere in these pages, after four days spent in England, which, in his own words, "I can never forget."

Farewell to France

The British Government lent Colonel Lindbergh a Bristol Woodcock plane for his return to France on June 3, his own plane, "The Spirit of St. Louis," having been boxed at Croydon, London, for transshipment to the United States. At first delayed by fog, he finally crossed the Channel in the wake of the Handley-Page mail plane and arrived at Le Bourget with his usual rapidity. At the luncheon given him by the International League of Aviators he was made an honorary member of the Lafayette Escadrille. Dr. Edmund Gros, who made the presentation speech, said: "Our feeling for you has been summed up in the compliment paid you by a woman of the people, who, seeing you land at Le Bourget, was heard to remark to a mother who had lost a son in the war: 'Do you know I believe he is the spirit of our sons coming back to us?'" According to all reports, Lindbergh appeared more moved on this occasion than on any other, and said that the honor meant more to him than any he had yet received. A ceremony was then held at the Swedish Church in Paris in tribute to the memory of Lindbergh's father. In the evening, at the dinner given by the Paris Post of the American Legion, the following incident took place:

"Lindbergh said, beginning his speech, 'I had hoped to remain long enough to see the Legion Convention in Paris, even though I am too young to have been a member——' 'You are a member,' came the cry from all corners of the hall, making the election unanimous."

On June 4 Colonel Lindbergh bade farewell to Paris and flew to Cherbourg, where he was to embark on the Memphis for America. The harbor town prepared another colossal welcome for him, and in the Gare Maritime was unveiled a plaque commemorating his first reaching France, near Cherbourg. He then embarked on the Memphis, which set sail immediately.

LINDBERGH'S RECEPTION AT WASHINGTON

AFTER completing his flight across the Atlantic, Colonel Lindbergh was the recipient of many honors in Paris. He subsequently flew to Brussels, Belgium (May 28), where he "met his first King" (King Albert) and the following day flew to Croydon, England. He stayed several days in England, where he met King George and the Royal Family, and where he received many honors. After some delays due to bad weather, he finally flew across the Channel back to France (June 3), where fresh laurels were bestowed upon him. The last stage of his visit to Europe came on the following day (June 4), when he flew in a French plane to Cherbourg, where he boarded the Memphis, the United States cruiser offered him by President Coolidge to bring him home. [All these various stages of the aviator's expeeriences abroad are describede in detail elsewhere in these pages.] The Memphis left Cherbourg in the afternoon of June 4.

The youthful hero of the greatest aerial feat of our times arrived in his native land on June 10. The United States cruiser Memphis, which brought him home, passed through the Virginia Capes on that date late in the afternoon. Lindbergh received his first intimation of the tremendous welcome the nation had prepared for him when a convoy of four destroyers, two army blimps from Langley Field and forty airplanes of the army, navy and Marine Corps met the Memphis and accompanied her as she steamed up Chesapeake Bay until the fall of dusk. A first convoy of welcome, consisting of the destroyers Worden, Sands, Brooks, Reuben James and

Wide World.

Lindbergh on Board the U. S. S. Memphis on Arrival at the Washington Navy Yard.

Humphreys, had already met the Memphis in the morning, while she was still a hundred miles out at sea. Another destroyer, the Goff, on which was Richard R. Blythe, Colonel Lindbergh's personal representative, intercepted the Memphis in the early afternoon. Blythe carried the flier's uniform of a Colonel in the Missouri National Guard, with the insignia of his new ranking. The naval and aerial demonstration followed. "It was an impressive welcome," commented Lindbergh later, "and I am deeply grateful to the navy for it." Another remark of his when the four destroyers swung into line was: "I wonder if I deserve all this." The scene along the Virginia shore as the Memphis proceeded, with airplanes circling overhead, destroyers guarding and convoying, sirens shrilling and multitudes cheering from the shore, marked the first stage of Colonel Lindbergh's triumphant home-coming.

Meanwhile, Washington, the nation's capital, waited with tense anticipation Lindbergh's coming. The incoming tide of a throng estimated at fully 300,000 and a flag-bedecked city gave earnest of the reception awaiting the triumphant aviator. The city was compelled to arm its soul with patience until the following day in view of the fact that the Memphis anchored in the Potomac River around 9 o'clock in the evening, prepared to resume the voyage to Washington in the early hours of the morning of June 11, but this announcement had only the effect of stimulating the capital's enthusiasm. Mrs. Evangeline Lodge Lindbergh, the aviator's mother, had arrived in the late afternoon (June 10) in the White House motor car, which had been sent to Baltimore to bring her from the train to Washington as the special guest of the President and Mrs. Coolidge at the temporary White House in Dupont Circle. Mrs. Coolidge greeted her warmly and congratulated her upon her son's achievement, as did President Coolidge on his arrival from the executive offices at the Capitol. After a quiet dinner with the President and Mrs. Coolidge, Mrs. Lindbergh retired early.

The Memphis, after a triumphant progress up the Potomac, docked at the Washington Navy Yard at 11 o'clock the next morning amid the thunder of big guns and the frenzied cheering of a vast multitude. Colonel Lindbergh, standing alone with uncovered head beside the gangplank, his

tall slender figure dressed in dark civilian clothes, in sombre relief against the dazzling white background of the cruiser and the white uniforms of the ships officers grouped in the background, made an impressive picture. Mrs. Lindbergh was the first person to board the cruiser. The meeting between mother and son was held in privacy in the Captain's cabin. It was reported to have been "simple and affectionate."

The notables awaiting Lindbergh's landing on the dock included Curtis D. Wilbur, Secretary of the Navy; Dwight F. Davis, Secretary of War; Harry S. New, Postmaster General; Charles E. Hughes, former Secretary of State; Admiral Edward W. Eberle, Chief of Operations for the Navy; Major General Mason M. Patrick and Rear Admiral William A. Moffett, respective heads of the army and navy air services. Commander Richard E. Byrd, who flew to the North Pole and who, as these pages went to press, was planning to follow Lindbergh's trail across the Atlantic, was also present.

A few moments after the Memphis docked Secretary Wilbur and Secretary Davis went aboard and greeted Lindbergh, just returning from his meeting with his mother, amid the booming of the cruiser's big guns.

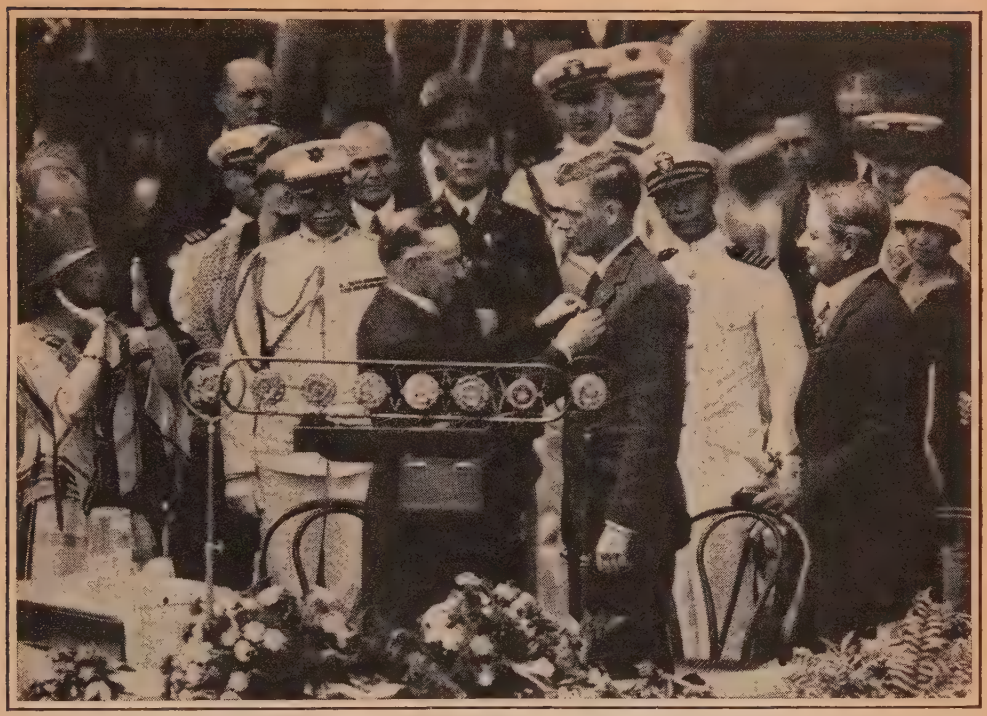
Triumphant Parade in Capital

The preliminaries were quickly disposed of, the escort and parade already fully planned for finally got under way and the procession began along Pennsylvania Avenue to the Washington Monument. There the first titanic voice of the nation's welcome beat upon Colonel Lindbergh's ears like the repeated roar of a storm-swept ocean; streets were packed with cheering people, the windows of the buildings along the way were occupied with clapping and shouting men and women; the paper snowstorm, now a traditional mark of all America's greetings of great events, fluttered down in a continuous shower. Lindbergh now and again waved his hand from the car in which he rode in acknowledgment of the ever-renewed roar of applause that swept his way. Behind him rode cavalrymen, detachments from all branches of the army and navy service, all acting as escort and guard of honor for the aviator, who, but a short time before, had been an obscure air mail flier and who had now returned to his native land, after successfully achieving the world's greatest aviation feat, laden down with all the dignities and honors that Europe could bestow upon him. And here in Washington, the nation's capital, where he had lived as a boy during the tenure of his father's membership in Congress and where every inch of the way was familiar to him, he was now to receive the high honors and distinctions which his own country desired to lavish upon him.

On the high stand at Washington Monument in Potomac Park the President of the United States and Mrs. Coolidge awaited him. High officials and diplomats, Ambassadors, many elegantly attired women, also sat there in the hot sun awaiting the event. Military music, the clatter of horses' hoofs and another continuous roar of applause announced Colonel Lindbergh's coming. The cortège drew up before the stand, the young aviator, tall and as usual bareheaded, climbed up the stairs behind Vice Admiral Burrage, and, pausing for a moment, gazed out and down over the gigantic multitude below that surged like a strange human garden of myriad form and color before his eyes. What his thoughts were could not be revealed. Perhaps he understood at last that in three short weeks' time he had become a symbol of heroic courage and pure idealism to his fellow-countrymen.

There was cordiality and even a flicker of warm admiration on President Coolidge's

THE CONQUEROR
—New York American.



Wide World from Harris & Ewing.

President Coolidge pinning the Distinguished Flying Cross on Lindbergh at the ceremonies held at the Washington Monument in honor of the aviator

usually impassive face as he went forward and shook Lindbergh's hand. Mrs. Lindbergh, just behind her son, was greeted by Mrs. Coolidge and sat beside her. Lindbergh sat beside Secretary Wilbur in plain view of the vast audience below.

President Coolidge walked to the front of the stand, bareheaded in the hot sun, and began to speak. His address, at the conclusion of which he conferred on Colonel Lindbergh the Distinguished Flying Cross (also his commission as a Colonel in the Officers' Reserve Corps), was as follows:

Text of the President's Speech

My Fellow-Countrymen:

It was in America that the modern art of flying of heavier-than-air machines was first developed. As the experiments became successful, the airplane was devoted to practical purposes. It has been adapted to commerce in the transportation of passengers and mail, and used for national defense by our land and sea forces.

Beginning with a limited flying radius, its length has been gradually extended. We have made many flying records. Our Army fliers have circumnavigated the globe. One of our Navy men started from California and flew far enough to have reached Hawaii, but, being off his course, landed in the water. Another officer of the Navy has flown to the North Pole. Our own country has been traversed from shore to shore in a single flight.

It had been apparent for some time that the next great feat in the air would be a continuous flight from the mainland of America to the mainland of Europe. Two courageous Frenchmen made the reverse attempt and passed to a fate that is as yet unknown.

Others were speeding their preparations to make the trial, but it remained for an unknown youth to attempt the elements and win. It is the same story of valor and victory by a son of the people that shines through every page of American history.

Twenty-five years ago there was born in Detroit, Mich., a boy representing the best traditions of this country, of a stock known for its deeds of adventure and exploration.

His father, moved with a desire for public service, was a member of Congress for several years. His mother, who dowered her son with her own modesty and charm, is with us today. Engaged in the vital profession of school-teaching, she has permitted neither money nor fame to interfere with her fidelity to her duties.

Too young to have enlisted in the World War, her son became a student at one of the big State universities. His interest in aviation led him to an Army aviation school, and in 1925 he was graduated as an airplane pilot. In November, 1926, he had reached the rank of Captain in the Officers' Reserve Corps.

Making his home in St. Louis, he had joined the 110th Observation Squadron of the Missouri

National Guard. Some of his qualities noted by the Army officers who examined him for promotion as shown by reports in the files of the Militia Bureau of the War Department, are as follows: "Intelligent," "industrious," "energetic," "dependable," "purposeful," "alert," "quick of reaction," "serious," "deliberate," "stable," "efficient," "frank," "modest," "congenial," "a man of good moral habits and regular in all his business transactions."

One of the officers expressed his belief that the young man "would successfully complete everything he undertakes." This reads like a prophecy.

Later he became connected with the United States Mail Service, where he exhibited marked ability, and from which he is now on leave of absence.

On a morning just three weeks ago yesterday this wholesome, earnest, fearless, courageous product of America rose into the air from Long Island in a monoplane christened the "Spirit of St. Louis" in honor of his home and that of his supporters.

It was no haphazard adventure. After months of most careful preparation, supported by a valiant character, driven by an unconquerable will and inspired by the imagination and the spirit of his Viking ancestors, this reserve officer set wing across the dangerous stretches of the North Atlantic.

He was alone. His destination was Paris.

Thirty-three hours and thirty minutes later, in the evening of the second day, he landed at his destination on the French flying field at Le Bourget. He had traveled over 3,600 miles and established a new and remarkable record. The execution of his project was a perfect exhibition of art.

This country will always remember the way in which he was received by the people of France, by their President and by their Government. It was the more remarkable because they were mourning the disappearance of their intrepid countrymen, who had tried to span the Atlantic on a western flight.

Our messenger of peace and good-will had broken down another barrier of time and space and brought two great peoples into closer communion. In less than a day and a half he had crossed the ocean over which Columbus had traveled for sixty-nine days and the Pilgrim Fathers for sixty-six days on their way to the New World.

But, above all, in showering applause and honors upon this genial, modest American youth, with the naturalness, the simplicity and the poise of true greatness, France had the opportunity to show clearly her good-will for America and our people.

With like acclaim and evidences of cordial friendship our Ambassador without portfolio was received by the rulers, the Governments and the peoples of England and Belgium. From other nations came hearty messages of admiration for him and for his country. For these manifold evidences of friendship we are profoundly grateful.

The absence of self-acclaim, the refusal to become commercialized, which has marked the conduct of this sincere and genuine exemplar of fine and noble virtues, has endeared him to every one. He has returned unspoiled.

Particularly has it been delightful to have him refer to his airplane as somehow possessing a personality and being equally entitled to credit with himself, for we are proud that in every particular this silent partner represented American genius and industry. I am told that more than 100 separate companies furnished materials, parts or service in its construction.

And now, my fellow-citizens, this young man has returned. He is here. He has brought his unsullied fame home. It is our great privilege to welcome back to his native land, on behalf of his own people, who have a deep affection for him and have been thrilled by his splendid achievement, a Colonel of the United States Officers' Reserve Corps, an illustrious citizen of our Republic, a conqueror of the air and strength for the ties which bind us to our sister nations across the sea.

And, as President of the United States, I bestow the Distinguished Flying Cross, as a symbol of appreciation for what he is and what he has done, upon Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh.

Lindbergh's Reply

Colonel Lindbergh's reply to the President's eulogy created a sensation in the vast audience facing him by reason of its brevity, but, above all, by the message that it conveyed. For it was literally a message. His words were as follows:

On the evening of May 21 I arrived at Le Bourget, France. I was in Paris for one week, in Belgium for a day and was in London and in England for several days. Everywhere I went, at every meeting I attended, I was requested to bring a message home to you. Always the message was the same.

"You have seen," the message was, "the affection of the people of France for the people of America demonstrated to you. When you return to America take back that message to the people of the United States from the people of France and of Europe."

I thank you.

That was all—a few words, clear, distinct and almost startling in their simplicity, yet portentous because of the deep significance of the thought conveyed. Amid the answering applause he turned, shook hands with those on the stand and quietly made his way to the White House automobile that bore him back to the temporary White House. So the Potomac Park ceremony, signalizing the nation's welcome home to Charles A. Lindbergh, America's "Ambassador without portfolio" (as the President called him) and enhancer of his country's fame and prestige abroad, passed into history.

Other honors were bestowed on Colonel Lindbergh before his departure from Washington via the air route to New York, where another tumultuous reception awaited him. After the ceremonies he dined with the President and attended the reception given in his honor by the National Press. At this function other honors were added to the already formidable list of decorations and honors conferred upon him, the most significant, the Langley

Medal of the Smithsonian Institute. Colonel Lindbergh on Sunday, June 12, visited Arlington Cemetery and later visited the Walter Reed Hospital, where he greeted in a few quiet words some of the disabled war veterans lying there.

RECEPTION IN NEW YORK

THE welcome given Colonel Lindbergh by the City of New York on Monday, June 13, surpassed any reception ever accorded a private citizen in American history.

He took the air at Washington at 9:54 A. M. in an army pursuit plane, his own airplane, the Spirit of St. Louis, having developed some valve trouble, and reached Mitchel Field, Long Island, at 11:58 A. M.; four minutes later he was in the air again flying toward New York City in the blue and gold amphibian, the San Francisco, used by Captain Ira Ecker on the good-will flight to South America; a few moments later he made a graceful landing in New York Bay, where he boarded the municipal reception boat Macom. Grover A. Whalen, Chairman of the Mayor's Reception Committee here, gave him official welcome and the Marine Guard of Honor, consisting of 400 excursion boats, tugs, yachts and motor boats, led by the Macom, journeyed up the harbor to the Battery with Colonel Lindbergh on the bridge.

Colonel Lindbergh came to Mitchel Field with an air cavalcade of twenty-three planes, one of which carried Commander Richard E. Byrd, the North Pole flier, who intended to start upon a New York to Paris flight in a three-motor plane as soon as the Lindbergh-New York reception was concluded.

The approach to Mitchel Field was heralded by the hum of the motors of the twenty-three planes ten minutes before they were sighted. A far-off buzz, gradually increasing in volume like the noise of a swarming hive of bees, foretold the arrival of the fliers. Then in the distance the specks became visible and grew in size until the perfect flying formation could be observed. The squadron flew in a V formation with Lindbergh at the head and the units of the group in smaller Vs of three machines each. A crowd of more than 3,000 persons who had been waiting for several hours roared a greeting as Lindbergh stepped from his plane to resume immediately his flight in the amphibian which was in readiness.

The marine guard, which escorted the flier, proceeded up the harbor eighteen abreast, stretching a distance of four miles. From the moment when the seaplane landed in the Narrows until he was swallowed in the crowds of Manhattan, Lindbergh was surrounded by 400 ships which had run wild and 30,000 persons aboard them who had become frantic with excitement. On the shores lining the Bay Ridge, South Brooklyn and Staten Island docks 200,000 more shouted and waved, carried away with the emotion with which the very air of the bay seemed charged.

Never before was there such a harbor demonstration. Stodgy tugs decked in flags pranced on the waves and bumped against each other like bear cubs at play. Sedate ferries clad in flying bunting nosed motor boats from their prows. Fireboats shot streams of water at the sun. River steam-

Freudy.

Mrs. Lindbergh, the aviator's mother, watching the sky for her son's arrival by airplane in New York

ers staggered under the weight of passengers massed on one side. Smoke and steam from wide-open whistles clouded the sky.

The Macom reached the Battery at 12:40 P. M., and as he stepped ashore the tumultuous mass of people burst into a mighty thunder of welcome, which was renewed with redoubled force as Colonel Lindbergh's mother, who was in waiting, clasped his hand in welcome. A paper snowstorm enveloped the canyons of lower New York in a mist of white, and the air was split with the shrill uproar of tens of thousands of sirens, tooters and full-throated whistles and the huzzas of hundreds of thousands of welcoming citizens.

He rode slowly up Broadway in the wake of a glittering military display of 10,000 troops. Lower Manhattan was packed everywhere; millions were standing along the line of the procession, leaning from windows or sitting in stands, all cheering in frenzied enthusiasm. The city was resplendent with bunting.

At the City Hall

The first formal welcome took place at the City Hall. Here an illuminated Scroll of Honor was presented to the flier, and the Mayor delivered an address of welcome and pinned upon his coat the Medal of Valor of the City of New York.

The Mayor began his address by informing the flier that if he had prepared himself with "letters of introduction to New York City, they are unnecessary." He praised his achievement and extolled him as "a great grammarian," for "you have given added significance and a deeper definition to the pronoun 'we.' We are familiar with the editorial 'we,' but not until you arrived at Paris did we hear of the aeronautical 'we.' Now you have given to the world a flying pronoun." In closing, he said: "New York City is yours; I don't give it to you, you won it." As he ended his address the Mayor pinned on the tunic of the flier the city Medal of Valor. The medal was the gift of the city and the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society. On the obverse is represented a winged man striding through the air amid clouds and above sea waves; one wing rests on the words "New York" and his forward foot rests upon the word "Paris," and above all is the date "1927." The reverse bears this inscription:

Commemorating the non-stop flight New York to Paris. Charles A. Lindbergh, May 20, 1927. The American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society, the Mayor's Committee on Receptions, New York.

Colonel Lindbergh responded in well-chosen words, expressing his appreciation of the city's welcome and the honor shown him, and added:

In regard to aviation, do not expect too rapid development. We are not going to have transatlantic service in a few months. We will have it eventually; it is inevitable, but it will be after careful development and experimental research. We should have it probably within five or ten years; but any attempt to fly across the Atlantic regularly without multimotors, without stations at intervals along the route, and without a flying boat that can weather some storm would be foolhardy. I want you to remember that aviation has developed on a sound basis, and it will continue to develop on a sound basis.

At Central Park

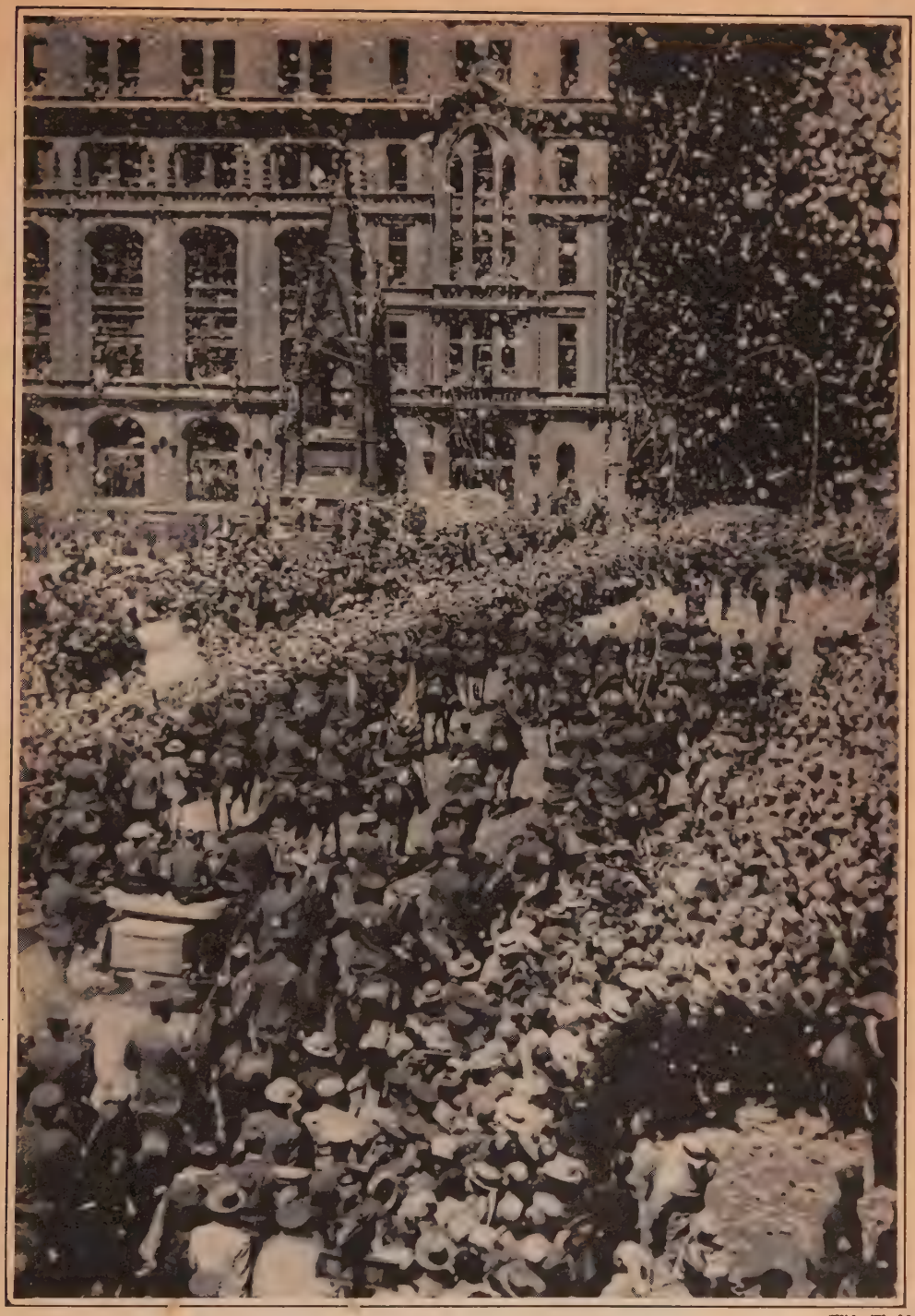
At the conclusion of these exercises, in company with the Mayor, Colonel Lindbergh left the stand and began the triumphal procession along Fifth Avenue to Central Park. Passing up Fifth Avenue the parade parted to let the flier go to the head of the column. At Twenty-third Street he halted to deposit a floral tribute at the base of the "Eternal Light," commemorative of the city's war dead. The streets were packed almost to suffocation, and every building was covered with decorations, a mass of color and a dense impenetrable throng on both sides all the way from the Battery to Central Park.

As the procession entered the park, and the flier descended to the side of Governor Smith, there was a fresh outburst of enthusiasm from the 200,000 persons who were wedged into a solid mass on the meadows surrounding the official stand.

Governor Smith put the blue ribbon, from which was suspended the State medal, over Lindbergh's head. The Governor read the inscription on the medal, which was awarded for "courage and intrepidity of the highest degree in flying alone and unaided from New York to Paris, to the glory of his country and his own undying fame." "You are hailed," added Governor Smith, "in the Empire State as an ideal and an example for the youth of America." After the Governor had spoken the flier remained on the platform in view of the thousands for thirty minutes as he reviewed the parade. When the last man had filed by, the flier and his mother entered a car and were driven to the apartment on Park Avenue, which they occupied during their stay in the city.

On Monday night the flier and his mother were the guests at dinner of Clarence H. Mackay, head of the Postal Telegraph Company, at his estate on Long Island.

The flier on Tuesday evening, June 14, was the guest of the City of New York at a



Wide World.

LINDBERGH'S RECEPTION IN NEW YORK

The Aviator, Escorted by Police, Riding Up Broadway Amidst a "Snowstorm" of Torn Papers.

dinner at the Hotel Commodore, which was attended by 3,700 representative men of the city. Church and State joined in paying tribute to the aviator. Governor Smith and Mayor Walker headed a long list of State and city officials in the gathering. The Right Rev. John J. Dunn, Auxiliary Bishop, and Bishop Manning, representing the Roman Catholic Church and the Protestant Episcopal Church in New York, were present. All branches of New York life—business, the professions, the army and navy, aviation, and so on—were represented. It was the largest official city dinner ever held in New York, and it gave Colonel Lindbergh a loud and most heartfelt ovation. When Colonel Lindbergh arrived in the hall at the head of a long line of dignitaries, including the Governor, the Mayor, Charles E. Hughes and many others, every one jumped to his feet to give the flier a soul-stirring cheer.

The cheering and the applause continued for several moments as Colonel Lindbergh walked to his seat. Dignified Federal Judges, elderly corporation leaders, black-garbed priests and clergymen, general officers of the army and admirals of the navy, nationally known men in many walks of life, climbed on top of chairs and pushed and fought with each other to catch a good view of the tall, slender, serious lad who was unknown to the world a month ago. The crowd burst forth, continuing with great, booming, rolling cheers of the kind that come directly from the heart, the kind of cheering that takes one back to the big football games of one's youth. While Lindbergh stood stooping and blushing and smiling bashfully under the looped curve of a huge American flag the din of applause, cheers and yells continued moment after moment. Somebody else, leaning over the balcony rail at the risk of his life, called for three more cheers for "Lindy." They were given with another vociferous riot of sound, and finally the crowd quieted down.

Mayor Walker was toastmaster. The addresses were delivered by Dr. John H. Finley, Associate Editor of *The New York Times*, Former Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes, Governor Smith and Colonel Lindbergh. Mr. Hughes in his address said:

When a young man, slim and silent, can hop overnight to Paris and then in the morning telephone his greetings to his mother in Detroit; when millions throughout the length and breadth of this land and oversea through the mysterious waves, which have been taught to obey our command, can listen to the voice of the President of the United States according honors for that achievement, honors which are but a faint reflection of the affection and esteem cherished in the hearts of the countryman of the West who distinguished America by that flight, then indeed is the day that hath no bother; then now is the most marvelous day that this old earth has ever known.

We measure heroes as we do ships by their displacement. Colonel Lindbergh has displaced everything. His displacement is beyond all calculation. He fills all our thought; he has displaced politics, Governor Smith.

For the time being, he has lifted us into the freer and upper air that is his home. He has displaced everything that is petty; that is sordid; that is vulgar. What is money in the presence of Charles A. Lindbergh?

What is the pleasure of the idler in the presence of this supreme victor of intelligence and industry? He has driven the sensation mongers out of the temples of our thoughts. He has kindled anew the fires on the eight ancient altars in that temple. Where are the stories of crime, of divorce, of the triangles that are never equilateral? For the moment we have forgotten. This is the happiest day, the happiest day of all days for America, which as one mind is now intent upon the noblest and the best. America as picturing to herself youth with the highest aims, with courage unsurpassed; science victorious. Last and not least, motherhood, with her loveliest crown.

We may have brought peoples together. This flight may have been the messenger of goodwill, but good-will for its beneficient effects depends upon the character of those who cherish it.

We are all better men and women because of this exhibition in this flight of our young friend. Our boys and girls have before them a stirring, inspiring vision of real manhood. What a wonderful thing it is to live in a time when science and character join hands to lift up humanity with a vision of its own dignity.

There are again revealed to us, with a startling suddenness, the inexhaustible resources of our national wealth. From an unspoiled home, with its traditions of industry, of frugality and honor, steps swiftly into our gaze this young man, showing us the unmeasured treasures in our minds of American character.

America is fortunate in her heroes; her soul feeds upon their deeds; her imagination revels in their achievements. There are those who would rob them of something of their lustre, but no one can debunk Lindbergh, for there is no bunk about him. He represents to us, fellow-Americans, all that we wish—a young American at his best.

Governor Smith delivered a laudatory address, concluding as follows:

My explanation for this extraordinary demonstration is briefly, admiration for that courage which seems to be a common heritage of the American people. I thought it was admiration for that quality of deliberation and preparation which directs courage to useful ends. I thought it was admiration for that modesty and grace which we all love to see in the youth of our land. I believed it was admiration for that concentration of effort which drives through to success against all obstacles. And while I would have loved to be in the lower end of the city, my part of the program assigned me to Central Park, and I saw comparatively few of the countless millions that seemed to be within what is now defined as the "port district" that witnessed the parade from the Battery.

If I was asked to say at this table tonight what impressed me most, I would be compelled to say it was the look of satisfaction that I was able to discern on the countenances of the men and women in Central Park when they saw standing behind the Colonel his mother, sharing the glory that came to her distinguished son, and she certainly was proud of it.

While we are gathered here tonight, I think that it is fitting and proper that we bow our head in grief for the French companions of the Colonel in the air, Nungesser and Coli. I believe also that we should congratulate his fellow Americans, Chamberlin and Levine, who flew bravely to success, but who flew together. But remember, Colonel, that you flew to success, you were the first one, and you flew alone, and for that reason you have found a place, I should say the first place, in the heart of America, as typifying the youth, the spirit, and the courage of the great country that you represent.

Colonel Lindbergh, in his reply, first paid a tribute to the efficacy of the New York police in handling the unprecedented crowds of the day before. He then spoke of the possibilities of aviation in America as follows:

This country is naturally situated to be the leading country in aeronautics in the world. It is possible to fly long distances without crossing an international border. The weather conditions are good on the whole. We have a people to whom time means more than to the people of any other country, and we have an air mail service better than that of any European nation or group of nations.

Yet there is great room for improvement in

Wide World

Lindbergh photographed in front of his machine

the United States in aeronautics. We have practically no passenger lines. Our greatest need today is for air ports, closer to cities; we might save several hours in flying between two large cities and lose one hour at each city in traveling to and from the air port in that city. We need modern air ports close to the centre of towns. Our mail service which is now practically entirely in the hands of private operators is in a few cases on a paying basis. By a paying basis I do not mean that there is any margin, any large margin of profit. Most of those lines are just about holding their own, or losing a little each year. If we could have an increased volume of air mail by 50 per cent., we could undoubtedly develop our mail lines and put them on a paying basis in a very short time.

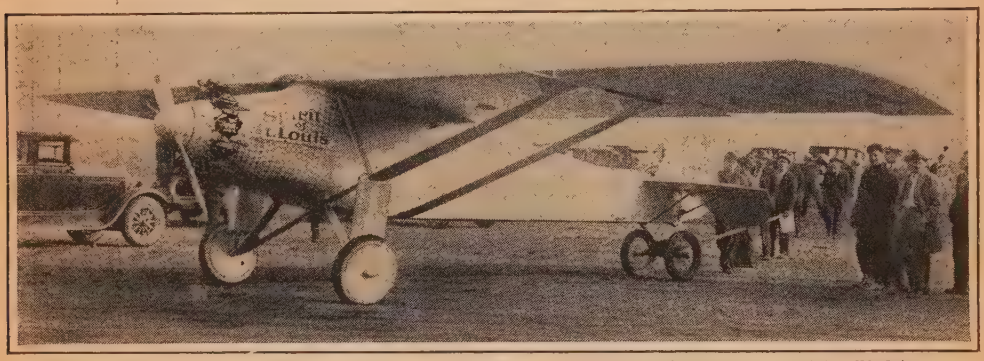
Transatlantic travel between this country and Europe is only a matter of development. It will not come immediately, but within a few years. Ships used will undoubtedly carry multimotors, and will be able to land on water and weather a storm. The next great step in transoceanic communication by air is that of the multimotor machine. I believe that these machines will begin to demonstrate their possibilities within a very short time, although regular communication will not come until years of research and development have passed.

In the meantime, the most important thing for us to do is to develop the transcontinental branch lines which we already have. A commercial air service in America gives a reserve in case of war which we can develop in no other way. Experienced pilots cannot be trained as quickly as airplanes can be built. We do not invite war; yet one of the surest ways of averting it is to have a trained personnel which can be mobilized quickly in case of war. A commercial air service will give us that personnel in the matter of fighting planes in case we are forced into conflict. Our planes in the army air port are the most developed in the world, although we have very few of them. And I have no hesitation in saying, without the least exaggeration, that the pilots of the United States Army have no equal in the civilized world.

I would like to bring forward the necessity of developing an air port as quickly as possible in each town and city of this country. As soon as those air ports are placed at the disposal of American airmen, we will have a passenger service equal to our mail service and better than any of the European nations.

A Quick Flight to Washington

After the dinner the aviator was the guest of honor at midnight performances at theatres, one of which was a benefit for the families of the lost French fliers, by which $35,000 was realized. At 3 A. M., still in his dinner clothes, he slipped an aviator jacket over them, entered a P-1 Curtiss hawk, a single seated army pursuit plane, at Mitchel field, and took off for Washington, to return immediately from that city to New York in his own Spirit of St. Louis. The round trip of 450 miles was made in a little over four hours' flying time, his landing at Mitchel Field in his own car being made at 7:40 A. M., just 4 hours and 40 minutes after his departure.



The Spirit of St. Louis, the Ryan monoplane in which Lindbergh made his flight

Guest of the Merchants

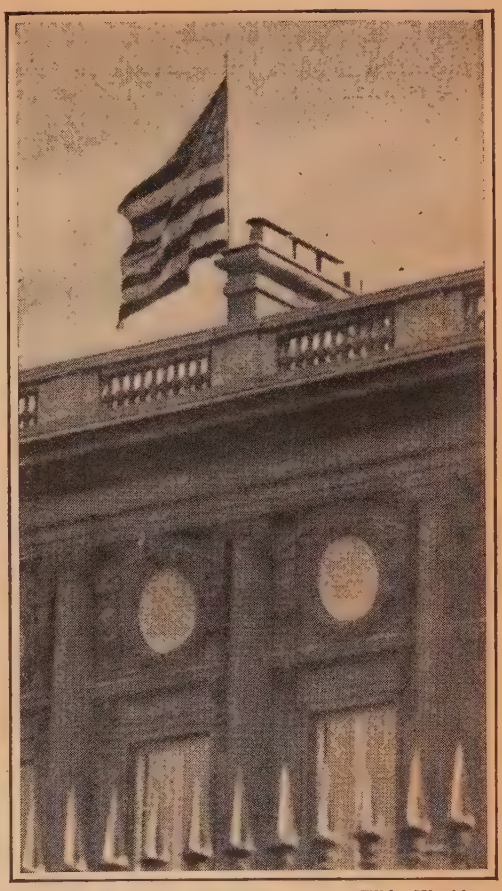
On Wednesday Colonel Lindbergh was the guest of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York and the Merchants Association of New York at luncheon. Business men representing every phase of New York's diversified commercial activities joined in prolonged applause and cheers when the transatlantic aviator entered the luncheon hall, when he rose to speak and when he left the room. The size of the gathering broke all records for a luncheon crowd and taxed the grand ballroom of the Astor beyond its capacity. Wings at the north and south end of the ballroom were thrown open to the overflow.

Colonel Lindbergh asked the business men for cooperation in building up a big commercial air service in the United States and especially in developing airports for New York and other large cities like the air-

ports he saw outside of Paris, Brussels and London. He pointed out that New York had nothing to correspond with the European airports, and that this city was probably the most vulnerable spot in America to enemy aerial and naval attack in case of war. He then drew a picture of a battle between aircraft and a battleship, predicting that pursuit planes could put the battleship's anti-aircraft guns out of commission and that bombing planes could then sink the battleship with very little loss, comparatively, to the aerial forces.

The speakers who paid homage to the young flier, while the whole audience joined in the tribute through their applause, were Alfred E. Marlin, Chairman of the Members' Council of the Merchants' Association and former President of the Chamber of Commerce, who was toastmaster; William L. De Bost, President of the Chamber of Commerce, and Lucius R. Eastman, President of the Merchants' Association.

He was the guest of the City of Brooklyn on Thursday, June 16. He rode through twenty-two miles of Brooklyn streets, banked by school children and their parents numbering approximately 700,000. The youngsters' greeting to their hero outdid the din of the uproarious reception accorded the flying Colonel when he arrived in New York. Then he spoke briefly at ceremonies in Prospect Park, where the largest single crowd of the program, estimated at 200,000, had assembled. He spoke again at a luncheon and then whirled out to Roosevelt Field, the starting point of his trip to Paris, where he addressed yet another throng. Two more functions, at one of which he received the Orteig prize of $25,000 which he won by his flight, and a dinner by his companions of the airways, completed his schedule. At an early hour on Friday he took the air in the Spirit of St. Louis for the City of St. Louis.



Wide World

The American flag hoisted over the French Foreign Office in honor of Lindbergh's achievement

RECEPTION AT ST. LOUIS

COLONEL LINDBERGH left Mitchel Field, Long Island, on Friday, June 17, at 8:15 A. M., and landed at Lambert-St. Louis Field nine hours and twenty-two minutes later, having consumed some time in manoeuvring above New York City as a farewell and also remaining in the air at St. Louis some time before he made his landing. His equivalent flight from St. Louis to New York on May 12, a distance of 950 miles, before his transatlantic flight, was made in 7 hours 25 minutes. Whistles, sirens, bells and motor noise makers greeted the homecoming hero with a din which increased as long as he and his escorting squadron of planes were in view. It was the lusty beginning of the celebration which continued through Sunday and which added the welcome home note to the enthusiasm shown over Lindbergh by Paris, Brussels, London, Washington and New York, and the honors heaped upon him by Presidents and Kings.

Secretary of War Davis, St. Louisan and war veteran, was one of the party which met Lindbergh at the field. Those waiting on downtown roofs first saw the silvery monoplane's approach just after 3 o'clock,

St. Louis time. At 3:07 Colonel Lindbergh passed over the Mississippi, dipping low in recognition of the navy scout cruisers which were manned by members of the Naval Reserve. Then began his series of circles over the business district. His flight was at a comparatively low altitude and many of those on buildings and at windows with field glasses were able to read the name, "Spirit of St. Louis," or the official number, "NX-211."

On his way to St. Louis he flew over the centre of Columbus, Ohio, dipped his plane low, circled the State House and then widened his course to circle the American Insurance Union tower and a larger portion of the business district. Workers in the downtown district took advantage of their lunch hour to perch themselves on the tops of high buildings and cheer. State House employes climbed to the dome of the building, and all alone at the top of the smokestack at the pinnacle of a skyscraper which towers forty-five stories above the street, a lone watcher kept a lookout.

At Dayton, Ohio, he was joined by a flock of thirty of the army's swiftest airplanes. He swooped away from Wilbur Wright Field, surrounded by his escort. In one corner of the field from which the escort swarmed up to greet him stands the world's first hangar, where Orville and Wilbur Wright housed their first successful heavier-than-air craft.

When he reached Indianapolis he made three majestic circles around the Indiana Soldiers and Sailors' Monument.

On Saturday, June 18, at St. Louis a monster parade was given in honor of the aviator, the demonstration exceeding any similar event in the city's history. He was fêted at official luncheons and dinners amid scenes of enthusiasm unprecedented in the city's annals.

More than 500,000 men, women and children crowded his five-mile line of parade. Civil war raged along the route as the mob thrust back lines of Boy Scouts, policemen and soldiers in an effort to come alongside of the flier's flower-smothered automobile in which "The Spirit of St. Louis" and a big "We" were written in violets.

The sun, which broke through clouds just before parade time, flashed on millions of bits of torn paper tossed out of the office buildings as the parade struck the business section. The great airman was stormed with roses and other flowers, most of them glancing from mounted soldiers and policemen who formed his bodyguard.

Secretary of War Davis presented the aviator his commission as a Colonel in the Reserve Corps, U. S. A. Later he was entertained at luncheons and dinners. In his address Secretary Davis likened Lindbergh to Christopher Columbus.

"Called a visionary and a dreamer, Christopher Columbus for seven years urged consideration of his plan and sought the means with which to prove his contention that one could reach the East by sailing west. With full conviction that his project was feasible, that the perils and mysteries of the mighty Western seas could be overcome by man, he was undeterred by ridicule, derision and repeated reproof in his search for aid for his great venture.

"Finally, a woman of foresight was won to his cause. A tiny craft of approximately 200 tons crossed the broad Atlantic, changing the course of civilization as it had not been changed since Christianity had been brought to the world. To Isabella of Spain, not as the sovereign of Castile but as a woman of vision, thus must go some of the credit of the discovery of the Americas.

"Great as has been the advance in the arts and sciences in the past 435 years, equally great has been the progress of the intellect. Superstition and fear no longer deter men from advancing the means to conquer the unknown. The wind, the rain and the storm are no longer peopled by gods, nor by devils; darkness no longer holds its terrors. So when he who has been termed the modern Columbus, Charles Lindbergh, sought backing for his great venture into the unknown, he did not find it necessary to appeal for seven long and discouraging years for a craft with which to prove man's ever-increasing control over the elements.

"There were those of vision and foresight who responded promptly; who never for a moment thought the pilot a dreamer or visionary; who unostentatiously afforded him means to prove that, as the waters of the Atlantic had been so successfully traversed by the Santa Maria, so the sky of the Atlantic could be cleaved by the Spirit of St. Louis.

"The blazed trail is not followed immediately by the highway. It is a far call from the tiny Santa Maria to the mammoth transatlantic liners. It will be some time before air routes connect America with Europe as do the sea routes of today, but when that day comes, as surely it will, if not in our time, in the time of our children, the name of Charles Lindbergh will be linked inevitably with those who have traversed the unknown sea, who have fought their way through the wilderness to open new worlds to men, who have placed the elements under man's control, men who have dared and, in daring, have won imperishable fame."

The Practicability of Transocean Air Service

By EDWARD MARSHALL
AUTHOR AND JOURNALIST

THE energetic American tourist need not, I think, thrill or shudder at the thought of making a trip to Europe by air next Summer just because Lindbergh made his gallant crossing this year. The vast ferryboats which we call liners will not be displaced by airplanes so quickly. Not even the practical success of the European air routes, which last year carried many thousands of paying passengers, justifies that thought. But now the transocean air trail has been blazed, the possibility has been demonstrated and it is entirely reasonable to believe that before many years have passed very serious efforts will be made to offer to those travelers to whom time appears as an element of importance the infinitely faster flight as a substitute for the old and slow process of voyaging on the sea's surface.

Probably one of the greatest stimulants to air travel in Europe has been the horror which most people feel for that uncertain, nerve-racking, stomach-turning strip of water known as the English Channel. Blériot, who, happily, in good health and vigor, has lived to greet Lindbergh, was the first to cross the Channel in an airplane. When the canals of equilibrium, connected with the ears in the human head, were arranged by nature so that certain disturbances of the body's position, as by the motion of boats floating on rough waters, would disturb the fluid in them and cause seasickness, Europe was assured an earlier air development than America, for in European surface travel that turbulent Channel always must play an important part. When nature (or whatever) made the Europeans politically turbulent and so arranged their racial groups that wars became inevitable she clinched the matter. The misery and delay that all European travelers have suffered because of that vital English Channel and the knowledge of aeronautics imposed upon man, woman and child by the late war, have done the trick. Anything to avoid the Channel—even air travel; and why not air travel, anyway? And if bombs can be transported aerially, why not babies?

Lindbergh, who has at last accomplished the feat of crossing the Atlantic by the air route, has expressed his belief that transocean passenger transport by air is now merely a matter of time. The French men, women and youngsters who milled about, hoping but scarcely believing, waiting to receive him at Le Bourget 'drome on the night when he agreeably disappointed them by actually arriving, instinctively voiced their belief that the arrival meant exactly that. Cabled reports mention this; Lindbergh heard the talk and endorsed it. Naturally he would. Who could have a better right?

The triumph of the airplane over the dirigible on this and other long voyages disproves most early prophecies. A few years ago the majority of the then few people who thought at all about the matter and had the vision to believe that transocean aerial traffic might be coming, felt sure the dirigible would be earlier than the airplane in the super-ocean air and there would hold supremacy. The causes which have tended to alter that belief have been various. The ocean has been crossed three times by a dirigible, but these achievements did not start a fashion; rather they revealed difficulties which since have been much emphasized. Entirely aside from those difficulties and all other considerations, it may be that the fact that an individual flier may own and operate a plane, whereas only a great company with much money to invest, could build, own and even attempt operation of a dirigible, has had something to do with it. At present, at any rate, all talk of transocean air travel concerns heavier-than-air vehicles.

But there are those who have given the matter very deep thought and are convinced that the future through air-service, developed on large lines, will combine the two forms of aircraft. More than a year ago Captain Eddie Rickenbacker, Amer-

ica's war ace and now a business man of import, predicted that within five years from that date (and he still holds to his figures) we shall have air-transport facilities paralleling above the surface every important through railway and steamship line. Long distance travel, he believed, will be by vast dirigibles, rarely if ever landing, planes feeding them with and relieving them of passengers and cargo and keeping them provisioned and fueled. He gave as one of his chief reasons for his expectations of fast air-transport development the fact that it takes but one per cent. as much capital to develop a landing field and signal-light an air route as it takes to develop a railway. An air-route costs infinitely less than an automobile road. Railways and their equipment must be created and managed by great corporations, communities and individuals being their servants. Hard-surfaced roads fit for automobiles are built only by vast cooperative effort and at great cost to taxpayers. But the air vehicle needs no road bed.

In air transport, students believe and experience indicates that communities will develop landing fields and lights, for the purpose of attracting trade and insuring their own progress, and that various agencies, companies and individuals in America asking no governmental help, will utilize them, variously and fully, establishing regular lines of air transport wherever there is the slightest promise of good profit.

It is a fact that railway development in America took forty years, but it may safely be asserted that general enthusiasm for the nation's business, progress and comfort may develop air transport on an even larger, that is, a more far-reaching scale, within the five years of Captain Rickenbacker's estimate.

The Saving of Time and Money

Overland air travel has immense advantages, and while apparently it would be far more expensive than railway travel, this necessity is more apparent than real. In Europe, air travel rates already are low enough so that the saving of time over rail travel more than compensates for the difference in cost, and obviously this will occur here, as our facilities develop, for precisely the same rule will operate. One of the great railway men of England, after inspection of his line's vast terminals in London and other large cities, a study of its little stations and a careful analysis of the cost of maintaining its rights of way, sighed deeply. "If my son has any tendency to follow in his father's footsteps and devote his life to transportation," he said to me, "and if things go as I believe they will, he won't have to learn the railway business, he will have to learn the aviation business." He spoke with real regret, as stage coach owners once did who had watched the early railway trains go by. "An air right-of-way costs nothing, either to acquire, to develop or to maintain," he went on mournfully, thinking of the billions which railroad rights-of-way have cost. "The cost of even the most elaborately lighted and graded landing fields is negligible in comparison to the cost of even a minor railway terminal." That is one fragment of the vast argument which will not be wholly written for many a long year to come.

Speed on Long Runs

On long runs, of course, there can be no comparison between the speeds achievable by and even normal to airplanes and the best that ships and railway trains can do. It is a fair estimate that air-travel is more than three times as fast as surface travel of the very fastest sort. A very large part of American travel is that of business men and to the business man time and money are synonymous terms. Suppose Lindbergh had been a California business man anxious to make in New York City a deal which the man who reached the metropolis first would capture. Suppose he had started from California by plane at the same time his rival started by train. He would have had time to make the eastward airtrip, close his deal upon Manhattan Island and fly back to California before his train-borne rival even reached New York. There is no answer to an argument like that—that is, there ought to be and need be none.

The era of big business is merely beginning in America. More and more are commercial activities of all kinds conducted on a wholesale scale. Already innumerable concerns extend their manifold activities to all parts of the nation. This means the inevitable necessity for the exchange of men (and women) between widely separated offices, sometimes on one coast and sometimes on the other. The era of big business is the era of big salaries. The time of the high-salaried employe is coin of the realm to his or her employer. Take, for example, motion picture stars. A single railway

transfer of seven high-salaried players and other employes from the neighborhood of Los Angeles to the neighborhood of New York recently cost a certain motion picture producing company $35,000, quite apart from the normal expenses of the railway journey. These seven people were under contract to be paid an average of well over $1,000 a day. The trip took a full week of time. It is easy to estimate the saving if facilities had been in existence for their transfer by aircraft.

Maughan flew from coast to coast between sunrise and sunset. Lindbergh made the trip in two days, stopping half way for a night's sleep—about twenty-one hours' flying time, actually being in the air fewer moments than Maughan was.

It may be objected that the high-salaried motion picture people mentioned above would have been unwilling to stand the discomfort of crowded quarters in an air vehicle for a day and a night. Allow the voyagers to stop off for the one night between coast and coast and sleep in a hotel, as Lindbergh did. Give them two days and a night for the trip. Even then you would be saving three days of their salary-eating time, or $15,000. And presently here, as is already the case in Europe, planes will be equipped with sleeping facilities for night travelers. Why not for the transocean hop? I have heard those figures of salary savings through fast transport discussed solemnly, practically, by the most important men connected with the financial management of a great motion picture company.

The time of men and often that of women crossing the oceans on business is even more likely to be valuable than that of men and women crossing the Continent. A steamship company has given me an estimate (guesswork, of course, but probably fairly accurate) that a third of its passengers going in both directions across the Atlantic every year are travelers on business even in these days when Americans are so prosperous that no vacation expense overtaxes their pocketbooks. That one-third, with this one line, amounts to more than 25,000 people. Lindbergh crossed the Atlantic in 33 hours and 21 minutes. These business travelers by sea on an average spend more than six days or a business week upon the ocean. While drawing salaries lower in average than those of motion picture personnel, they usually are expensive human beings. Obviously the saving of money which would come about through sending them by fast airship instead of by slow steamship would be at least three days each each way, or six days (a working week each) for the two trips. Ocean travel by air, therefore (decreasing in cost as it increased in volume), would accomplish for this country a saving of millions annually in mere pay for working time, to say nothing of the other financial advantages of high-speed operation.

And there are reasons other than economy of money to make humanity from time to time desire fast travel. Ocean voyages by ship rest and delight some, but for at least as many they are physically agonizing, and for most business men the loss of time is at least aggravating and sometimes almost maddening.

The partisans of the overland Air Mail, who once were but few, but who now include almost every business man of enterprise and vim, used to figure up the cost of interest alone which would be annually saved to our internal commerce through hastening the mail transaction of financial and commercial business, especially the transit of actual money or its equivalent. The figures were amazing. Some one gave Lindbergh letters to bring from the coast to New York and others gave him letters to take from New York to Europe. If any of these contained money or checks an incomparably small sum in interest was lost on them during transit.

Hands have been raised in horrified protest when certain minds have considered the cost of establishing what Lindbergh among others has suggested, an artificial "floating island" midway in the Atlantic to serve as an overnight comfort station or a distress port for trans-ocean planes, a point for refueling, revictualling, rewatering, repairing, if necessary, and, perhaps, when desirable, a place for a fine night's sleep. Of course such a contrivance (which has been pronounced perfectly possible by exact scientists) would cost a lot of money. But what do docks for ocean going ships cost? What do harbor-dredging and maintenance cost? The same thing—a lot of money. The cost of mid-ocean floating airports would be small compared to the cost of seaport terminal facilities and their accessories for ocean vessels, for no vast sums would need to be paid for shore privileges, dredging and other channel maintenance.

The Role of Radio in Air-Travel

As Captain Lindbergh watched the Derby, England's most famous horse race,

his attention wandered from the great contest which held tens of thousands enthralled as no other spectacle can hold an Englishman. The speed of an approximately two-minute horse with an ultimate traveling capacity of only a very few miles at that (for the horse) high rate, naturally did not interest the airman who had just traveled 3,610 miles without stopping at the rate of 107 miles plus per hour. While in the adjoining box the English Royal family with fascinated eyes watched the horses, the eyes of the world's greatest jockey of the new and more efficient steed were fixed on certain buzzing airplanes and captive balloons, from which surface traffic was being directed on the roads near Epsom Downs, the experts in the aircraft being in constant and efficient wireless communication with their coworkers on ground level. Radio from and to aircraft is an old story now. The addition of the wireless telephone to other equipment will be general in aircraft of commercial passenger-carrying size. Wireless communication conditions are as good in planes as they are on ships at sea, and much better than on railway trains. Thus even during the thirty-three hours of a trans-continental crossing, or the approximately similar period of an ocean crossing by air, passengers will not be cut off from necessary or even merely convenient verbal contact with their stationary friends and associates upon the surface, and pilots will be kept constantly informed as to weather conditions ahead of them and other matters of importance.

The accomplishment of Lindbergh's engine, like the evident efficiency of the model of his plane, were wonderful. They showed immense advance over the engines and plane designs of a few years ago. But history teaches us that they were crude by comparison to that which will have been perfected in five, ten, twenty-five years, half a century. Search your library for a picture of a Civil War-time locomotive and another of a steamship of that period. Compare these with the easily obtained pictures of the locomotives and the steamships of today. The best of then and the least of now look like members of wholly different mechanical species.

Transocean Airline in Ten Years

Ten years is the time which Captain Lindbergh thinks possibly may elapse before passenger-carrying commercial flying will be in regular operation between America and Europe, but he expects it to be competently in operation sooner. General William Mitchell endorses Lindbergh's views, expecting, ere long, planes comfortably and safely carrying fifty passengers each, and capable of traveling at 200 miles an hour and even of landing without accident on ordinary or even rough ground. Both experts believe that the application of the well developed shock-absorber principle is all that is required to make this possible.

Every real expert in the world agrees with Captain Lindbergh and General Mitchell that air travel is safer now than most people believe, because our attention is attracted to such disasters and accidents as happen with this comparatively new method of travel, while we are not mentally impressed at all by those which happen in travel by the older methods. I have said this many times in writing about aeronautics and have proved it by actual measurement of newspaper space devoted to accidents of all kinds. One death in aeronautics, at the present time, will get scores of times as much space as one death by almost any other means not involving crime. Only a very small proportion of single deaths by accident are mentioned in the larger newspapers even of the regions in which the deaths occur. Only an epochally strange accident killing one, or half a dozen, will be generally printed throughout the country. But every aeronautical mishap which involves a single death or even a serious injury will be wired from one end of the nation to the other, and if the mishap is unusual will be cabled overseas, always to be headlined in the press. Aeronautics, being new and therefore unusual, is news.

The Chamberlin-Levine Flight From America to Germany

THE second transocean flight within a fortnight was successfully accomplished in the forty hours between Saturday morning, June 4, and Sunday evening, June 5, when the Bellanca plane Columbia, with Clarence Chamberlin as pilot and Charles Levine, the owner of the plane, as passenger and assistant pilot, completed a successful non-stop "hop" from Roosevelt Field, Long Island, to Helfta, a suburb of Eisleben, in the historic Province of Saxony, Germany, 110 miles southwest of Berlin. The actual measured distance traversed, as calculated by the United States Geological Survey, was 3,905 miles, as against the Survey's figures of 3,610 miles credited to Lindbergh. Counting detours the distance traversed in the non-stop flight exceeded 4,000 miles.

The precise time of the take-off was 6:05:27 A. M.; the landing in Germany was forced, on account of fuel shortage, at 12:50 A. M., Monday, June 6, New York time (7 A. M. German time) after 43 hours of continuous flight. The machine when it alighted on German soil after its flight of over 4,000 miles, was in perfect condition. As soon as the plane was refueled the airmen started for Berlin. The weather was bad; rain was falling, the clouds hung low, obstinate winds impeded their progress, the compass was out of commission, and the country unfamiliar to the pilot, hence, instead of proceeding direct toward Berlin, Chamberlin lost his way in the dense, low-hanging clouds, veering to the south instead of continuing northeast. After they had traveled 116 miles, a sufficient distance to have carried them to Berlin, realizing that they had gone astray in the thick weather, and moreover that their second supply of gasoline was nearly exhausted, they brought the plane down to what from the air appeared to be a safe landing place in a meadow. But when the plane touched the earth, Chamberlin found he was in a swamp, where the ground was so soft that the wheels sank deep into the mush; the plane dipped forward in the marsh and the propeller was shattered, but this was the only damage done. Further progress was impossible, and the aviators climbed out, extremely fatigued from their long vigil and tense strain, but otherwise in excellent physical condition. They proved to have landed at the Village of Klinge, near Kottbus, seventy miles southeast of Berlin.

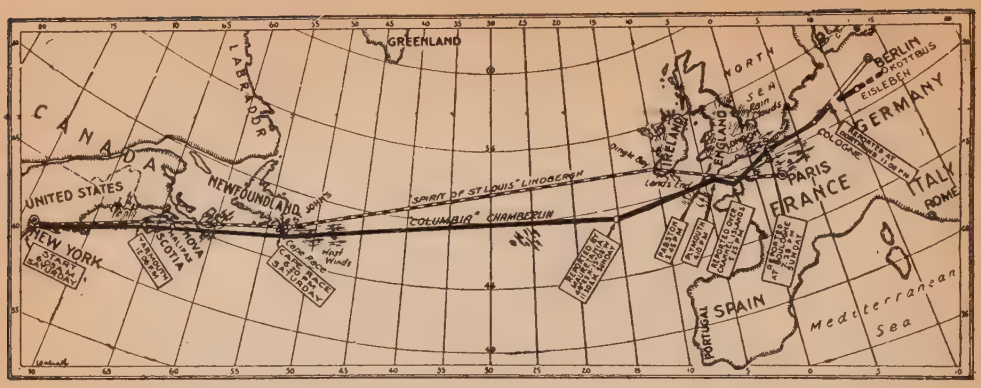
On the flight over the sea Levine occasionally relieved the pilot, but neither of them obtained more than a few moments' sleep in the eighteen hours preceding their take-off or in the forty-three hours of their flight. During the flight they ate only a few sandwiches.

A history of the flight was written jointly by the two navigators. In this description they state that before they had flown 100 miles from Long Island they discovered that the induction compass was inoperative and they were dependant on an antiquated magnetic compass which functioned indifferently. This threw them out of their course, and they were further impeded by headwinds when they were a short distance beyond Cape Cod. The situation was so serious that they discussed turning back, but decided they would rather face disaster and death in the open sea than the jeers of the public over failure, hence they boldly struck out and reached the open sea two and a half hours behind their schedule. Dauntlessly they faced the dangers ahead of them. They encountered dense fog 500 miles east of Newfoundland and rose 15,000 feet to clear it, but in vain, whereupon they veered south and passed out of it. They were unaware of their location, speculating whether they would strike Ireland, France or Spain, until the S. S. Mauretania came in view. By consulting the steamship schedules they learned the hour she left Southampton and from these data computed their proximity to Lands End, England. After entering the Channel, the clouds were so dense, that they rose over 20,000 feet and remained at this altitude for several hours during the night, in a temperature of 18 degrees, and did not venture down until dawn; it was only then that they were able to locate themselves but this was largely guess work.

The log of the journey as officially reported was as follows:

Saturday.

6:05:27 A. M.—Left Roosevelt Field, N. Y.
8:00 A. M.—Passed North West Port, Mass.



Route of the Chamberlin-Levine flight from New York to Germany

12:06 P. M.—Yarmouth, Nova Scotia.
1:10 P. M.—Le Have Harbor, Nova Scotia.
3:00 P. M.—Wedge Island, Nova Scotia.
5:30 P. M.—Reported fifty miles South St. Pierre Miquelon by S. S. Salacia.
6:20 P. M.—Cape Race (open sea).

Sunday

11:30 A. M.—Circled S. S. Mauretania, 360 miles west of Scilly Islands, England.
3:20 P. M.—Land's End, southwest tip of England.
4:10 P. M.—Plymouth, England.
6:00 P. M.—Boulogne-sur-Mer, France (dense fog).
11:08 P. M.—Dortmund, Germany (way lost in fog).

Monday

12:50 A. M.—Landed at Eisleben, Germany (fuel exhausted).
3:45 A. M.—Landed at village of Klinge, near Kottbus, seventy miles southeast of Berlin.

The departure from Roosevelt Field was dramatic. It was not known until the actual moment of the start who would fly with Chamberlin. Just before the take-off Chamberlin turned toward the crowd and beckoned. A short, stoutish man, his face set firmly, responded; he ran from behind the mass of people, where he had not been observed, hatless, wearing ordinary clothes and a leather vest instead of a coat, quickly climbed into the cockpit and crouched down beside the pilot. It proved to be Charles Levine, the owner of the plane. No one except the pilot and his personal attorney was in the secret. Levine's wife was present at the take-off. When she realized that her husband had entered the cockpit, she stared incredulously, and when she heard the roar of the motor and saw the plane start down the runway she cried out: "Oh, he's not going! He's not going!" and was almost overcome.

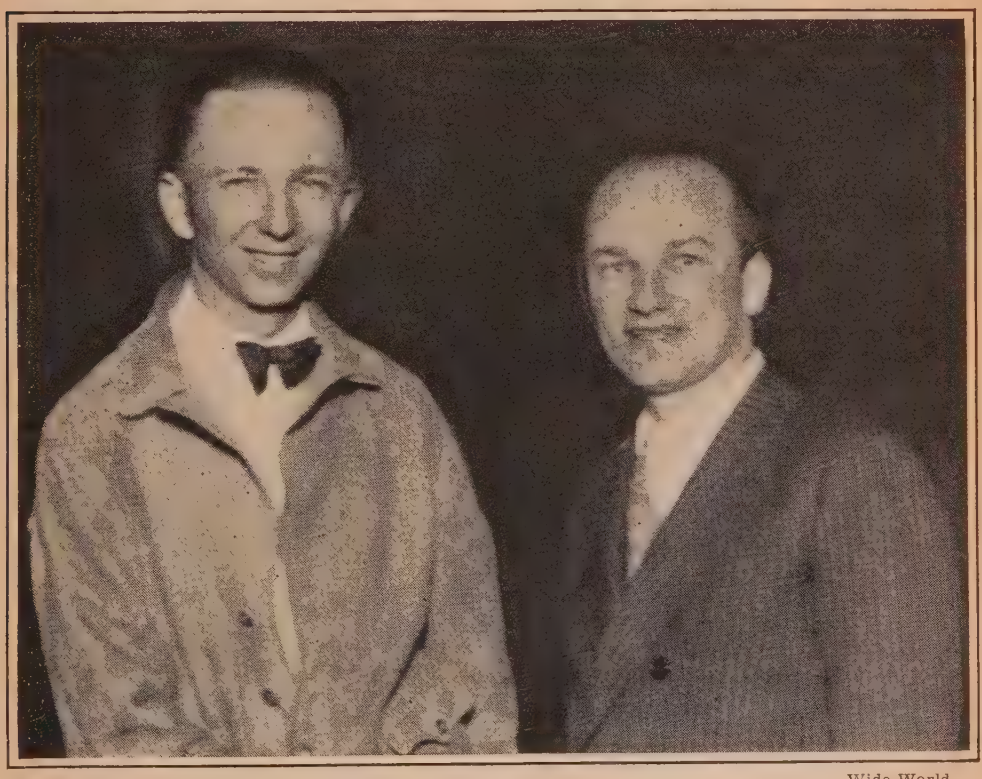
The first take-off proved a false start. The machine ran down the runway a few hundred feet, turned off the course and stopped. Despite the heavy load, Chamberlin turned it quickly and taxied up to the starting point again. He turned the machine around with great dexterity as though it were a motor car, and started a second time further back from the runway. This second take-off was perfect. Chamberlin opened the motor wide, the plane started rapidly and before he had gone 2,500 feet he left the ground; soon the plane began to rise rapidly and in an incredibly short time, considering its load, had glided into the higher altitudes and was off to the other continent, its golden wings glistening in the morning sun.

The journey as described by Mr. Levine was made under fine flying conditions until they were several hundred miles at sea. They then encountered sleet and hail, through which they moved for twelve hours, flying at heights varying from 300 feet to 17,000 feet. Their time from Cape Race to the British Isles was twenty-one hours. When they reached the Channel the meteorological conditions became very unfavorable, and the clouds so dense that they soared upward to an altitude of 15,000 feet and more. From the Scilly Islands they flew over Boulogne-sur-Mer, which at first they mistook for Bremen; then they headed east to Belgium. The wind was unfavorable and the fogs they encountered in Belgium were almost impenetrable. They persevered and by skillful study succeeded in again finding their way, turning northeastwardly until they reached Holland; here the fog became so thick that they again lost their way; finally they found themselves over a city, which proved to be Bremerhaven, Germany. The weather conditions had grown so serious that Chamberlin almost decided to land, but finding that they were then over

water he decided to continue. Higher and higher they flew until they passed an altitude of over 2,000 feet before they emerged from the fog and clouds, and found themselves over Germany. They were not even then sure of their location, but pursued a course which they believed was in the direction of Berlin. The plane was brought down within a hundred feet of the earth as it passed a field where farmhands were at work. These laborers shouted to them, giving them the direction of Berlin, and nodded to indicate that the plane was headed that way. Chamberlin and Levine noted by this time that the gasoline was running low, at least five hours and the equivalent of gas having been lost in the detours and ascents in order to avoid the storms. At length the pilot saw what appeared from above as a favorable landing field, to which he made a perfect descent. This place proved to be Helfta, at the outskirts of Eisleben, the town in Saxony where Martin Luther was born and died. Then came the flight to Kottbus.

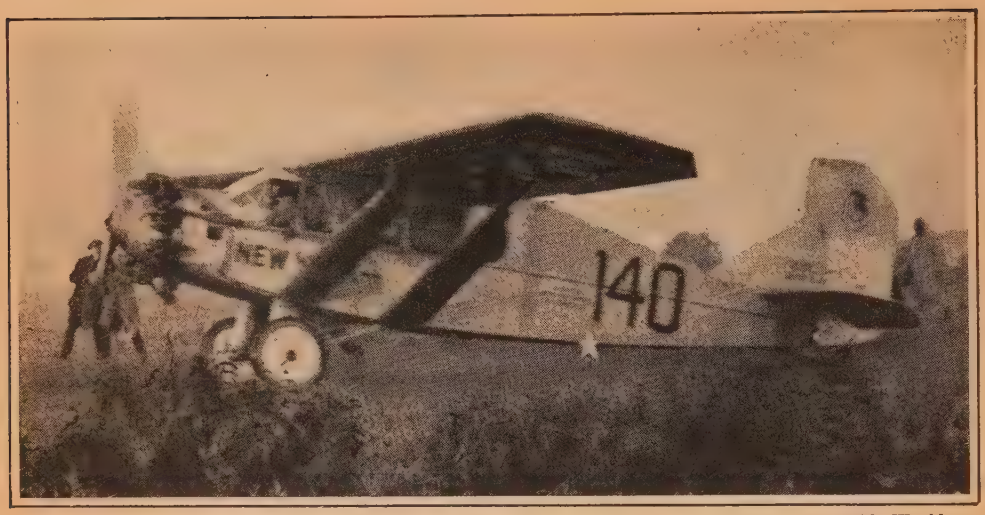
As soon as possible the propeller was repaired and it was found that in all other respects the plane was in fine condition. The Columbia was lifted from the marsh near Kottbus and at 4:15 P. M. (German time), Tuesday, June 7, took the air for Berlin. The Columbia was sighted at Berlin, accompanied by a dozen German planes, at 5:30 o'clock, and there arose a great roar of welcome from the 150,000 or more persons gathered at the Tempelhofer Field. The American flag was run up the main flagstaff of the airdrome. The Columbia first circled the City of Berlin and then headed back to the field, where a perfect landing was made. The greatest enthusiasm prevailed and the bands struck up "The Star-Spangled Banner" and other American airs. Jacob G. Schurman, the American Ambassador at Berlin, formally greeted the fliers in a laudatory address, saying:

> Welcome to the aviator who made the first non-stop flight from New York to Germany and covered the greatest distance ever made in continuous flight. In accomplishing this wonderful exploit you have at the same time enlarged our vision of the possibilities of human achievement.



Wide World

Clarence Chamberlin (at left) and Charles Levine photographed just before starting on their flight to Germany



Wide World

The Wright-engined Bellanca monoplane Columbia, piloted by Clarence Chamberlin and carrying Charles Levine as passenger, taking off from Roosevelt Field, Long Island, N. Y., on its flight to Germany

We Americans here are proud of you. The American people are proud of you. We all congratulate you most enthusiastically—congratulate you and salute you as the conqueror of the ocean and the champion of the air.

I hail you also as the celestial messenger of good-will and friendship from the American people to the German people—friends united over the ocean throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and now, please Heaven, also more closely through the air in the twentieth century and all centuries to follow.

I am delighted that you and your companion in your flight, Levine, arrive in Germany in such excellent condition, and beg you both to come with me now to the American Embassy, where you will be my guests.

The Burgomaster of Berlin, also the German Minister of Commerce each extended formal greetings.

Laurel leaves were placed on the plane's propeller and all the platforms in the vicinity were piled high with floral tributes. A formal reception was tendered the fliers by President Von Hindenburg on Wednesday, followed by a reception by Chancellor Marx. On Thursday they were entertained at luncheon by Foreign Minister Stresemann; and this was followed by a dinner in their honor at the City Hall and a gala performance of the Civic Opera given under the auspices of the Berlin municipal authorities.

The designer of the Columbia was Giuseppe Bellanca. It was not built for a transatlantic flight. It is a regular stock plane built in the factory of the Wright Aeronautical Corporation at Paterson, N. J., where Mr. Bellanca, at the time, was chief plane designer. Before the transocean flight it had flown 30,000 miles, part of the time as a reserve plane on a Western Air Mail route. It was used as an exhibition plane and has won several racing contests. At the Sesquicentennial Exposition at Philadelphia in 1926 it won two prizes for speed and efficiency. Early this year it was used at Long Island to establish a new record for sustained flight and was successful, remaining aloft 51 hours 2 minutes and 11 seconds, a world record. After this endurance test it was announced that the plane would attempt the transoceanic flight and the machine was at once put into condition.

The Columbia's wing spread is 46 feet 6 inches, and her length over all 26 feet 9 inches. Her height is 8 feet 9 inches, with a wing area of 272 feet. The chord of the wings is 6 feet 7 inches. She has a speed range up to 130 miles.

The gasoline tank is piano-shaped, divided into two compartments, with a capacity of 325 gallons. There are two additional tanks with a capacity of 65 gallons, which feed the motor by gravity. They are kept full by a motor driven pump, with a hand pump alternative. In addition, an extra supply of gas for this flight was contained in thirteen five-gallon tins, which were placed on the shelf of the gas tank. As they were emptied these were to be thrown out in the flight. Thus the total gas supply at the start was 455 gallons, four more than Lindbergh carried.

The Columbia is a semi-cantilever high

wing monoplane, with complete cabin enclosure for pilot and passenger. The fuselage is in three sections, the engine mount, the cabin seats and the tail. It is made of welded chrome-molybdenum steel, covered with fabric saturated seven times and varnished. The wings are of wood, wire and fabric; the struts leading from the bottom of the fuselage to the centre of the wing are of spruce. The central space of the wings is roofed in aero-foil shape with transparent covering.

The total weight at the take-off was 5,418 pounds, 470 pounds in excess of the weight when the duration flight was commenced and 300 pounds more than Lindbergh's plane; the empty plane weighed 1,850 pounds; it was equipped with a 200 horsepower radial, air-cooled Wright Whirlwind motor.

Before the construction of his own plane Captain Lindbergh made two unsuccessful efforts to purchase the Columbia for his projected transocean flight.

Charles A. Levine, owner of the Columbia, was born at North Adams, Mass., March 17, 1897. His parents moved to Brooklyn, N. Y., in 1899. As a boy Levine attended public school, and in his youth was with his father in the metal business and was always interested in motors, aviation and electric transmission. He amassed a fortune estimated at $5,000,000 after the war in handling shell casings and ammunition supplies. His early enthusiasm for aviation revived after he had acquired a fortune, and recently he purchased a plane, which he used regularly. He had been receiving instructions from Chamberlin, the pilot whom he accompanied, and he was regarded as a skillful amateur flier. When the Sikorsky plane S-35, which was wrecked with the loss of two lives in the attempted take-off for Paris, was being prepared for the flight, Mr. Levine offered $25,000 to be taken along as a passenger. Mr. Levine in 1917 married Grace S. Nova, daughter of County Judge Milton and Pauline Nova of Brooklyn. He lives at Belle Harbor, where he has a beautiful home. The family consists of himself and his wife and two daughters, Eloyse, 9 years of age, and Ardeth, 9 months. He is active in Masonic circles.

Clarence D. Chamberlin was born at Dennison, Iowa, in 1894; he attended public school and later entered Iowa State College, where he majored in electrical engineering. He was in the automobile business at Dennison when war was declared and at once enlisted, entering the Signal Corps, but soon changed to the flying branch, becoming a flying cadet. Late in 1917 he was commissioned Lieutenant and was sent to Kelly Field as a test pilot; he was so useful in that capacity that he was kept there until the armistice. After the war he began dealing with racing planes and became a test pilot for the Wright Corporation at Paterson. His flying career was full of adventure and he met with numerous mishaps, but by extraordinary skill as a pilot escaped with his life. He is regarded as one of the best qualified pilots in the country. His ambition to achieve the extraordinary was realized when he was permitted to go aloft with Bert Acosta in the Bellanca plane to make the endurance test, which broke all previous records; as a result of this he was chosen as pilot for the transoceanic flight.

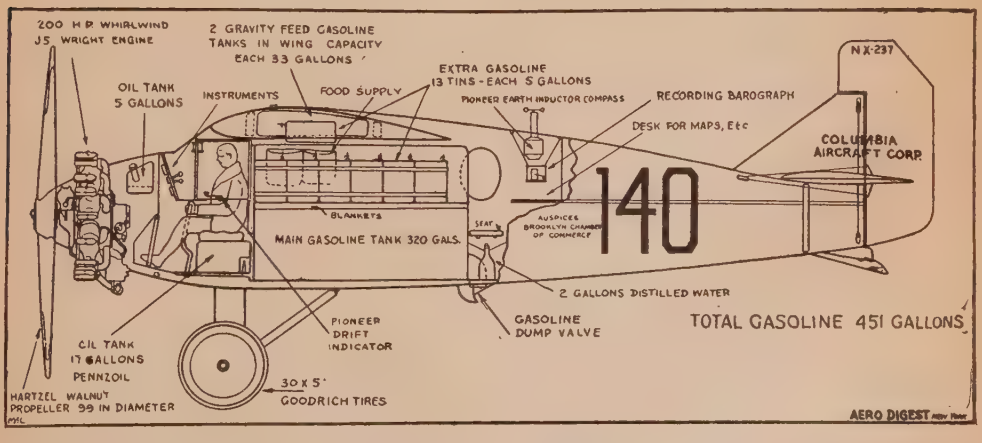


Diagram of the Columbia, the airplane used by Chamberlin and Levine in their flight from America to Germany

The First Transatlantic Flight

By LIEUTENANT WALTER HINTON
PILOT OF THE NC-4

THE first flight across the Atlantic was made by the United States Navy seaplane, the NC-4, in May, 1919. It was not a sporting proposition but a naval manoeuvre planned and executed with all the scientific preparation and care that characterizes any other operation in our navy. Aside from its historical importance it proved that the ocean could be crossed by aircraft; and that was the chief objective.

Four giant seaplanes, or flying boats, were under construction at the Curtiss plant in Garden City, L. I., at the time of the armistice. The Navy Department had planned to use a number of these machines in bombing operations against the enemy. Measuring 126 feet between wing tips and with hull and tail structure more than 68 feet in length, they were so large that the Chief of Naval Operations had decided to have them flown into the war zone rather than ship them by boat. So when hostilities ceased, the navy simply went ahead with its plan, to fly the planes across the Atlantic and thus carry out a new kind of naval manoeuvre.

Our initial preparations were completed and orders had been issued in Washington before *The London Daily Mail* offered its £10,000 prize which was to send several British planes to Newfoundland where they were prepared for the hop across—a great jump between the two hemispheres without stopping. Our flight was not meant to be a hop. It was to be done in such a manner that a thousand seaplanes might pattern their flights after it, if necessary.

The NC-1, NC-3 and NC-4 were finally assigned to this manoeuvre. The NC-2 had been so badly damaged by a gasoline fire on the dock at the Rockaway (L. I.) Naval Air Station that it was decided to leave her behind. The three planes had flown from Rockaway to Trepassey, Newfoundland, 1,150 statute miles, by May 15, and the next day, following a thorough overhauling, they were prepared to carry out the orders, issued a month previously, that their commanders take advantage of the middle of May moon.

Each plane had a crew of four or five. We wore fur-lined flying suits over our naval uniforms, silk socks under woolen ones, and fur-lined boots and helmets. At 6 o'clock in the evening of May 16 we took off and headed straight for the open sea. Our course lay eastward to the Azores and thence to Lisbon, Portugal. Between Newfoundland and the other side a line of some sixty destroyers had been stationed to help us in every way possible, and save us if we crashed en route.

Our four 400-horsepower Liberty engines hummed monotonously as we sped off in the fading light, maintaining an altitude of 600 feet above the water. We saw the NC-3 disappear ahead into the night. Looking back we could not see the NC-1. We were alone with about 1,300 miles to go before landing at Horta, our designated refueling stop in the Azores.

The stars came out cheerily. We put the NC-4 up to 1,000 feet. Ahead and so far below that she looked like a toy on a lake in the park, we saw a destroyer brilliantly lighted and sending star shells up to signal her position. We checked her off the chart. The destroyers were passed as regularly as railway stations. The moon seemed to appear as if by magic, and its rays brightened the edges of the wings and glinted off the helmets of the men in the open cockpits, as one after another we went off watch and below, inside the hull, where there were sandwiches and hot coffee.

A dark, forbidding form suddenly took shape dead ahead, and we veered off to avoid striking the NC-3 if she happened to be flying at slower speed than our craft. We grew accustomed to the biting cold and were rather thankful that the field of icebergs off Newfoundland had been left behind. At Trepassey, before the start, our motors were so cold that we had to heat the oil before putting it in each engine; and now at our altitude the air had a freezing bite to it whenever we exposed our faces or hands. Toward morning, however, we relaxed somewhat, for the fifteenth destroyer was passed and we were confident of making Horta without difficulty.

A few minutes later we saw a dull spot ahead. We thought it was rain until the NC-4 nosed into it and we found ourselves plunging through a blinding, suffocating

fog. We could see nothing. It was like crawling about the folds of a wet, gray blanket. We put the NC-4 up to 3,000 feet and flew by dead reckoning, without trying to find more destroyers.

Both clouds and fog lay above us. Rodd, our radio operator, sent word out to the vessels, and two destroyers reported no visibility on the surface, but destroyer No. 21 was more encouraging; she could see for ten miles where she lay waiting for us to pass. Down we went and cruised low over the waves.

Azores Sighted

A line of black rocks appeared in front of us—the island of Flores. We were jubilant. A check on our oil and gas indicated that we had enough fuel to take us past Horta and into Ponta Delgada; but as we were considering this with Commander Read the fog closed in again, and there we were, skirting the coast, missing destroyer No. 23 and knowing that we would be lucky indeed to find land again. Luck was with us. The fog split open and we saw the northern tip of Fayal Island. Horta lay off to the south.

When a small port appeared we believed it to be Horta and came down to find that Horta still lay some miles distant. Up we went again and between gusts of damp shroudlike mist caught sight of the U. S. S. Columbia, which we knew was riding in Horta Harbor. We had been in the air 15 hours and 13 minutes on the most difficult leg of our flight.

Our success, however, was relatively small compared to the gallant endeavors of the crews in the NC-1 and NC-3. Ill luck had been their lot from the moment they entered the fog. No loopholes had appeared for them; they had been compelled to fly through it blindly. The NC-3 had five solid hours of rain squalls and mist which made it impossible at times to see the water underneath. She kept up for fifteen hours and a half; then without any means of knowing where they were her crew had to bring the NC-3 to the surface. And what a surface!

The waves were chasing one another at galloping speed, sometimes rising thirty feet, and the big plane, a giant in the air, soon became a very small craft riding through a storm. She had landed in a twelve-foot sea and this had so damaged her control surfaces that she could not have stepped into the air again. On the surface her wireless could receive messages but was unfit for sending them: so when Commander Towers picked up word that the destroyers were searching for the NC-3 west instead of south of Flores, he knew that he must drift on the surface with the wind, using the NC-3 as a sailboat, tail first.

All that day and night the NC-3 rode the waves. After twenty-two hours of this the wing tip on the left was washed away and one of the crew had to crawl out on the right wing to prevent the other from being submerged. All hands took turns at steering, those off watch resting in sodden quarters, drinking oily, rusty water from the radiators and eating salty sandwiches and water-logged chocolate. Late in the morning they sighted Pico, 7,000 feet of volcanic cone above the surface, but observations proved the NC-3 about forty-five miles southeast of Fayal. Could they make land?

No, not the land they saw, for the fuel tanks held less than two hours' supply and both waves and wind were against them. They must ride in the other direction, eastward toward Ponta Delgada. So they saw the friendly Pico die away in the distance and the five of them cheered each other and fought on. The wind blew them southward for some time. Bits of the plane commenced tearing loose. Steering became in-

LIEUTENANT WALTER HINTON
Pilot of the NC-4 on its flight across the Atlantic

creasingly difficult because of the loss of controls. They trailed canvas buckets in the water on either side to assist in steering.

NC-3 Reaches Azores After Struggle

Observations were taken constantly for twenty-five hours after sighting Pico, and finally they calculated that they could run the engines and make Ponta Delgada in two hours. And they did. Land appeared. The U. S. S. Harding came racing toward them. They signaled for her to stand off; and then they taxied over the breakwater. The whole world cheered their feat when the news flashed out that they had turned up alive and well after sixty-four hours battling through 205 miles of storm-swept sea. The gloriously battered NC-3 could not continue, however.

Nor could the NC-1. She had been forced down by the fog about 100 miles west of Flores. For five hours she taxied on the surface, when the steamer Ionia came up and Commander Bellinger agreed that all hands should go aboard. The NC-1 was towed for a time, but the line broke and handling her in the terrifically rough sea seemed impossible. Before the Ionia had lost sight of her she slipped beneath the waves.

We went alone in the NC-4 from Horta to Ponta Delgada on May 20 and on May 27 struck out for Lisbon. The water in the harbor was rather rough, so that in taking off we were considerably jarred, and Commander Read's compass was jolted out of the gimbals. This threw it off a few points, so that when we steered by it, we were actually headed for Cape Town, South Africa. Our radio kept us in touch with a destroyer, however, and we thus checked our course, passed over the destroyer and on, through rain and mist, at an average speed of ninety-three miles an hour, to Lisbon. From there we flew up to Plymouth, England, arriving on May 31. The NC-4 had flown 4,526 miles since her departure from Rockaway.

Results of Flight.

There had been no saving of time in her trip across, no speed records and, I am inclined to think, no great amount of daring. Every officer in the Navy is accustomed to taking chances in line of duty; and he looks upon his flying job, if he is an aviator, just as the officer of a surface vessel considers his. But we had learned a great deal about long-distance flying on that trip, as some of the auxiliary apparatus had withstood every test, while other equipment failed utterly.

None of us thought much of radio direction finding until we had to resort to it in order to check our course. Then we knew it would be essential in all practical, commercial or military flights of the future. We proved conclusively that the problems of transocean flying included: ability to fix position by instruments, ability to fly through fog to an unseen goal, ability to alight on the ocean in case of need, or on something more substantial than a tossing wave.

The great Italian pilot, de Pinedo, flying from Newfoundland to the Azores this May, was forced down by fog within a few miles of the islands, exactly as were the NC-1 and NC-3 eight years ago. He was flying a heavily laden machine, and while he might have kept on through the fog, he could not have reached Europe, for he did not have enough fuel. Captain Lindbergh was able to conquer the fog by pushing through it because he had enough fuel to take him where he wanted to go, and his destination was the Continent, not an island in mid-Atlantic. I mention this to explain to the layman how it is that some flights fail where others succeed. It depends upon the kind of flight one is trying to make.

The flight of the NC planes was pioneering in the form of a naval manoeuvre; it showed the world what a fleet of seaplanes might do in the future. De Pinedo's four-continent flight shows the progress made during the last eight years in both planes and motors, high-lift wings and durability of parts. He can fly further on the same quantity of gasoline than the NC planes in 1919, he gets more power out of his engines for each gallon of fuel consumed, and like all machines today his seaplane can carry more of a load for each horsepower than those which were the best of their type when they made the first Atlantic flight.

Notable Episodes in the History of Flying

By COURTENAY W. HALSEY

TRANSOCEANIC flying has always tempted the adventurous aeronaut because, far more frequently than land flying, it offers difficulties that test the ingenuity and daring of the flyer to the utmost extent. It has been attempted with varying degrees of success in every type of aircraft, from balloons to bombers, over a period of nearly 150 years.

The first successful flight over a large body of water, which is on record, was made by two daring innovators, Vincent Blanchard and Dr. John Jeffries, an American, who on Jan. 7, 1785, crossed the English Channel from Dover to Calais in a hydrogen-filled balloon "under circumstances of unparalleled danger." After this feat, which was undoubtedly a piece of sheer luck, as the aeronauts had no control of their craft, a long period elapsed during which balloons were repeatedly experimented with and found impracticable for most purposes, and rigid and non-rigid dirigibles and heavier-than-air craft were invented and developed. It was in one of the latter, a monoplane, that Louis Blériot crossed the English Channel a second time on July 25, 1909, nearly 125 years after the first venture. His flight caused a tremendous sensation in Europe and America, and suggested forcibly to many for the first time the possibilities of the use of planes by an invading army in case of war, a foreboding that was fulfilled during the World War.

Underwood

Lieutenant Arthur W. Brown, navigator (at right), and Captain J. Alcock, pilot, British Air Force officers, who in 1919 made the first non-stop flight in an airplane across the Atlantic

Meanwhile American aviation, somewhat late to enter the game, was making rapid progress; so much so that Walter Wellman envisioned the possibility of a transatlantic flight and prepared to undertake it in the America, a 228-foot dirigible designed by Melvin Vaniman. He started from Atlantic City, N. J., on Oct. 15, 1910, and after drifting and sailing for over 70 hours, covering a distance of 1,008 miles, was forced to come down at sea. His attempt, though unsuccessful, proved the idea not unfeasible, and if the World War had not intervened the Atlantic might have been crossed much earlier.

The first actual flight across the Atlantic was made by the NC-4, a United States Navy seaplane, commanded by Lieut. Commander A. C. Read, which, with two sister planes, the NC-1 and the NC-3, left Trespassey, Newfoundland, on May 17, 1919. The NC-4, after a flight of 15 hours and 13 minutes, reached Horta in the Azores, a distance of 1,250 miles, but the other planes lost their way in a fog and were forced to alight on the water a short distance from the islands, where they were picked up by destroyers. After stopping several days, the NC-4 went on to Lisbon and finally London, having covered a total of 2,472 miles in 26 hours, 51 minutes actual flying

LIEUT. COMMANDER A. C. READ
The American naval officer who in 1919 made the first actual flight across the Atlantic in an airplane, the NC-4

time. This flight was marked by the elaborate precautions taken to ensure the safety of the aviators, a veritable chain of ships being stretched between the two continents which maintained constant wireless communication with the planes.

Logically, the next achievement was a non-stop transatlantic flight and this dream was realized only a month later. On June 14, 1919, Captain John Alcock and Lieutenant Arthur W. Brown, both officers in the British Royal Air force (though Brown was American by birth), took off from St. John's, N. F., in a Vickers-Vimy, twin-engined bombing plane, and 16 hours and 12 minutes later landed in a bog at Clifden, Ireland, their machine a wreck, having covered 1,960 miles in a single continuous flight at an average speed of 120 miles an hour. Like Lindbergh these flyers encountered fog and sleet, but were able to manoeuvre through them successfully and win the $50,000 prize offered by *The London Daily Mail*, and were knighted for their achievement.

The year 1919 is undoubtedly the most notable in the history of aeronautics, for less than a month after the non-stop plane flight the Atlantic was again conquered by the R-34, an English dirigible, which, starting from East Fortune, Scotland, on July 2, 1919, under the command of Major G. H. Scott of the Royal Air Force, landed at Mineola, L. I., on July 6, with all but a few gallons of her fuel spent. She took 108 hours and 12 minutes to cross from Scotland to America, a distance of 3,130 miles, but returned to Pulham, England, in 74 hours and 56 minutes, testimony to the fact that a crossing from Europe to America presents the more serious difficulties.

In October, 1924, the ZR-3, a German Zeppelin (now the Los Angeles) made a fourth successful crossing of the Atlantic, flying from Friedrichshafen, Germany, to the Lakehurst Naval Air Station in New Jersey, a distance of 5,066 miles, in 81 hours and 17 minutes. She landed with fuel unused that would have taken her as far as Chicago, and was never beyond the reach of some radio station.

As the R-34 and the ZR-3 were lighter-than-air craft, Captain Charles Lindbergh was accordingly the first to break the non-stop record for heavier-than-air craft set by Alcock and Brown, and his achievement

MAJOR G. H. SCOTT
Commander of the British dirigible R-34, which flew across the Atlantic to America

Wide World

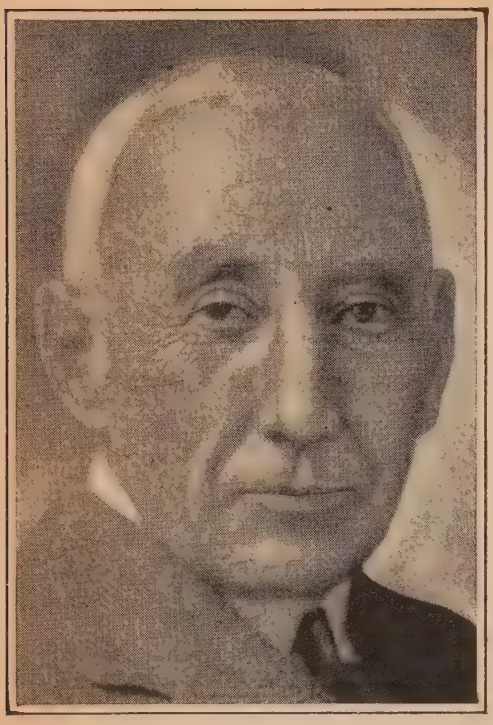
SIR ALAN COBHAM
The aviator who flew from England to Australia and back, a distance of 28,000 miles

may be said to surpass theirs in that he made the trip alone, covered a greater distance, and landed with his machine intact.

There have been other long trips involving transoceanic flights, quite as notable as the transatlantic feats. The French dirigible Dixmude in 1923 flew from Marseilles to the edge of the Sahara Desert and back, a distance of 4,500 miles, accomplished in 118 hours and 41 minutes. In 1924 the United States Army planes, taking off from Seattle, Washington, made the first flight around the world, a distance of 26,103 miles, in 175 days; they crossed the Atlantic in two "jumps"—from Iceland to Greenland and from Greenland to Labrador. Commander Francesco de Pinedo, in 1925, flew from Rome to Japan and back, a distance of ,000 miles, and as this article went to ess was completing the last stage of a ,000-mile trip from Rome to Africa and orth and South America; he made the ossing from Africa successfully, but was rced down in a storm near the Azores Islands on the return trip from Labrador and had to be towed ashore. A remarkable long-distance record was established toward the end of 1925 and the beginning of 1926 by Alan Cobham, who flew from London to Cape Town, South Africa, and back, a distance of 16,130 miles, in 170 hours, and who bettered his own record later in the year by a flight from London to Melbourne, Australia, covering 26,000 miles in 320 hours.

The American "Good-Will" flyers recently completed a 20,000-mile trip around

COMMANDER RICHARD E. BYRD
American aviator who flew the first airplane to the North Pole



ROALD AMUNDSEN
The Norwegian explorer who commanded the dirigible Norge on its flight across the North Pole in 1926

South America, stopping at various important cities on the way, Buenos Aires being the mid-point of the flight. While at the latter city, two of the fliers, Captain Clinton F. Woolsey and Lieutenant John W. Benton, were killed in a mid-air collision of planes. The fliers were decorated by President Coolidge on their return from their three-month trip.

One of the most sensational flights in the history of aeronautics was that of Commander Richard E. Byrd, who flew over the North Pole and Arctic Ocean on May 9, 1926, covering 1,600 miles in 15 hours and 50 minutes in a triple-engined navy plane. The Amundsen-Ellsworth-Nobile expedition followed close on his tracks, crossing the Pole on May 12 in the dirigible Norge.

The annals of transoceanic flying are, unfortunately, marked by quite as many tragedies and near-tragedies as successes. The first fliers to attempt a non-stop transatlantic flight, Harry G. Hawker and Lieut. Commander Mackenzie Grieve, who, on May 18, 1919, flew 1,225 miles from Newfoundland in their Sopwith biplane and, forced to land in the ocean 850 miles from Ireland, were not heard from for six days, but, after being given up for lost, were safely landed by a Danish steamer. The English dirigible R-38, designed for transatlantic flights, was wrecked on a trial flight in 1921 with a loss of forty-four lives. In 1923, the French dirigible Dixmude fell into the Mediterranean off Northern Africa and fifty-two officers and men perished. Captain John Rodgers's plane, attempting a non-stop flight from San Francisco to the Hawaiian Islands in 1925, came down on the Pacific and he and a crew of four men were missing for days until picked up by a submarine. Last year the Sikorsky biplane which Captain René Fonck, the famous French ace, was to fly across the Atlantic, crashed and burned during the take-off from Mineola. This year the plane American Legion, designed to compete for the Orteig prize, fell during a trial flight, killing Captain Noel Davis and Stanton Wooster. Only two weeks before Captain Lindbergh's flight, Captain Charles Nungesser and Captain François Coli, possessors of brilliant war flying rec-

CAPTAIN FRANCOIS COLI
The French aviator who set out with Nungesser to fly from Paris to New York and with his companion has not been heard of since. He lost an eye in the World War

ords, set off from Le Bourget at Paris, and disappeared in the wastes of the North Atlantic.

The numerous search parties which have been dispatched have found no trace of their plane or explanation of their disappearance.

However, as a writer on aeronautics recently pointed out, the widespread publicity which every airplane accident always receives, in contrast to accidents in other modes of traveling, gives them an unwarranted emphasis and makes them appear more frequent and serious than is actually the case. The early days of railroading were marked by quite as many, if not more, accidents than has been true of aviation thus far. When one considers that in two years of German civil aviation, during which 55,185 passengers were carried and 3,073,171 miles flown, there were only two fatalities, or one for approximately each million and a half miles, it is evident that there need be no great risk attached to this form of travel. True, transocean flying does present more serious difficulties than land flying, principally because of adverse weather conditions, which are, at present, beyond the possibility of human control, but, according to Captain Lindbergh, even these dangers could be met with safety by establishing a series of midocean landing stations where planes could land and wait the passing of the storms. There is little doubt that the recent successful transatlantic flight of Clarence Chamberlin, carrying a passenger, is a forecast of trips that will be a commonplace to the next generation.

Bachrach

LIEUTENANT CHARLES NUNGESSER
The French airman who had been decorated thirty-nine times for his exploits and who has not been heard of since he and François Coli left Paris in an attempt to fly to New York

The Wrights' First Flight at Kitty Hawk

By JESSIE E. HORSFALL
EDITOR, *Aero Digest*

WITH Lindbergh and Chamberlin both victors in the battle against handicaps which hitherto have baffled attempts at a non-stop transatlantic flight in heavier-than-air machines, it is interesting to reflect that the two men who blazed the way for these tremendous victories conceived the idea that such a flight was possible just a quarter of a century ago, and proved it by flying a few feet. It was in 1902 that Wilbur and Orville Wright made those flights in their glider which convinced them that they could build a heavier-than-air device capable of carrying not only a passenger but also a motor, thus becoming automotive, independent of wind and air currents, theoretically able to direct itself in circumstances of whatever difficulty.

Much was made at that time of the fact that such a machine, if traveling with the wind, theoretically would go much faster than that wind, as it would perforce treat the air as stationary in order to get lifting power. It was therefore reckoned that speeds upward of sixty miles an hour when traveling with the wind could be reasonably expected.

Now we read in *The New York Times* of Lindbergh maintaining a speed of 107 miles an hour on his transocean flight; of the incredible achievement, breaking all previous human records, of 278½ miles an hour by Warrant Officer Bonnett in France, Dec. 11, 1924, and of "Cy" Bettis, on this side, making 248.975 miles per hour in 1925.

The Wrights' first flight was, of course, infinitely more important than any of these later record-breaking flights, for it was the first demonstration that human flight in a heavier-than-air machine was even possible.

Returning from the scene of their glider experiments at Kitty Hawk, N. C., to Dayton, Ohio, they spent much time in working out the lessons which they had learned. They wanted, in the first place, an engine which would weigh as little as possible while furnishing sufficient power. They had very little money, but they had faith, which is better than money. Some of the engine manufacturers to whom they wrote making inquiries, realized this and treated them seriously, though others did not. One company, with vision, replied that they could make an engine weighing only 135 pounds which would develop eight horsepower. It consisted of a single four-inch cylinder with a five-inch stroke, and to rate it at eight horsepower was probably a gross exaggeration. The Wright brothers felt this and decided that, instead, they would build an engine for themselves.

Accordingly they worked out careful plans for a four-cylinder engine with a four-inch stroke, weighing, with all accessories, a little less than 200 pounds. They knew little about engine building, having done nothing in that line except to build a small power plant to operate their bicycle repair shop, but in six weeks they had their own engine on the testing block. Having made no provision for its lubrication, they could test it for only a moment or two at a time. On these short tests it showed about nine horsepower and they decided that this would be bettered somewhat with oil in the bearings. This established, the engine work was turned over to an assistant, C. E. Taylor, and the Wright brothers took up the task of working out the plane which the engine was to operate.

During the glider flights of 1902 they had calculated air pressure, made tables and gathered other data. That this work had been done carefully and even with astonishing scientific accuracy was shown by the fact that they really knew what "thrust" would be required to keep a certain weight in flight, although the problem of designing a propeller to supply this thrust was still to be solved. Naturally, data existed with regard to air propellers but they had that which had been collected with regard to marine propellers, and with this as a basis they went ahead, using what books they could find in the Dayton Public Library (not abundantly supplied in this respect) in which figures on this subject were given. Thus they began by making calculations in which they substituted air

pressure for the water-pressure which had been worked out by marine engineers, realizing that this was useful but not even approximately accurate for their purposes. Therefore they finally abandoned these calculations and substituted for figures in which they could have no confidence, those which were purely theoretical, but which they could deduce from their own practical knowledge and experiments. The undertaking was a tremendous one, for they had no fundamental principles worked out through a period of scientific development on which to base calculations.

The problem of a propeller which would produce the best "thrust" while whirling in the air proved to be the most fascinating and baffling of all. It utterly possessed them. They could do no other work. Having a record of air pressure on an airplane traveling a straight course, they concluded that a propeller's action would be the same as that of a plane traveling a spiral course. Accordingly they decided to use two propellers; first, because thus they would have reaction against a greater quantity of air than would be reached by one; second, because this plan would enable them to use more pronounced pitch-angle; and, third, because by using two propellers working in opposite directions the gyroscopic action and torque of one would neutralize those of the other.

The brothers worked out a variation of the chain drive and placed the engine to one side of the pilot so that in case of a "crash" (a word not then employed in that sense) the weight would not fall on and crush the man. How many have thus died since then! How prophetic were the minds of those two boys! They were not afraid of landings on one wing—they had had them in their glider experiments and had merely crushed the wing—but they had learned that a pitch forward involved danger, and so provided against it by supplying skids extending out in front of the main surfaces. In most other respects, the machine which was to be the first power plane was virtually the glider of 1902.

During the trials, their engine did better than they had expected, as it developed sixteen horsepower for a few moments, dropping then to twelve. They decided that this would raise 750 to 800 pounds and still leave as much surplus power as they had deemed necessary to raise 350 pounds.

On Sept. 23 they left Dayton, and two days later arrived at the eminence bearing the significant name of Kill Devil Hill, near Kitty Hawk, with all their paraphernalia. The rough building which had sheltered them during their glider experiments had been blown down and they had to repair it, but they had time to do this (mostly with their own hands) because their shipment of machinery was slow in arrival.

Three weeks were spent in getting the new machine together and making experiments. Then they had an experience which was the forerunner of what happened recently on Long Island. Bad weather set in. Mechanical troubles also arose. Tubular steel had been decided on for shafts, but it was finally abandoned and solid steel substituted, for good reasons.

The First Flight

Finally, on Dec. 14, with the assistance of members of the crew from the near-by life-saving station, they got their machine into place, with the slope of a hill, the thrust of the propellers, a sixty-foot monorail track and the machine all heading straight into the teeth of a favorable wind. They hooked the machine to the track with an easily detachable wire so that engine tests would not start it before the right moment came, and then they tossed a coin to see which should be the pilot. Wilbur won the toss.

Wilbur started his little engine, and the machine got away so fast that Orville, who had intended to help balance it on the single rail during its first few feet of run, was left behind, gasping. The machine rose into the air.

Such was the first flight, ending when the world's first power airplane came to the ground 105 feet from where it started, having been in the air just three and one-half seconds! Several minor parts were broken in the landing, but no serious damage was done.

Another trial of the plane was made on Dec. 16. The wind this time was stronger and gave the plane a slower, better start. It was Orville's turn at the throttle and Wilbur ran at the side and helped the machine's balance, as it thrust into a wind blowing 24 to 27 miles per hour. The machine lifted from the monorail after a forty-foot run. The pilot, of course unskilled in an art which he was then originating, did not do very well and the course of flight was erratic, but it was 120 feet in extent and lasted twelve seconds—seconds which were among the most important in the record of mankind. That brief flight was the forerunner of the Lindbergh and Chamberlin flights across the Atlantic Ocean.

Religion in National Politics

By GEORGE BARTON
EDITOR AND AUTHOR

THEORETICALLY we have no religious test for office in this country, yet in this year 1927 we are discussing whether an otherwise available candidate of one of the major parties can be seriously considered as a candidate for President of the United States because he happens to be an adherent of the Catholic religion. There is no constitutional inhibition. The qualifications of a candidate, according to that document, are quite simple. The nominee shall be a natural-born citizen, 35 years of age, and a resident of the United States for at least fourteen years. We have had Catholic Mayors, Governors, members of the House and Senate, Cabinet officers and Justices of the United States Supreme Court, but never a Catholic President.

What is true of Catholics in this regard is equally the case with those of the Jewish faith. They have held nearly all the offices mentioned, but none has ever been suggested for or elected to the Presidency. Some day an outstanding Jew may attain a prominence which will cause him to be considered as a Presidential possibility. He may point to the fact that certain of his coreligionists have served with distinction in the House and the Senate, in the Cabinet and on the Supreme Court bench. But must he feel that because of religious differences or prejudices his progress to the highest office in the land is to be halted?

These are questions that are being debated at this time chiefly because the Presidential claims of Governor Smith cannot be ignored. It is a condition and not a theory which confronts us. The best part of it is that this matter is being talked about with more frankness and less rancor than would have been possible in any previous stage of our national existence. Religious bigotry, like the poor, we have always with us. But the kind we now have is the open variety rather than the secret hostility of previous days. That we have religious liberty in this favored land is a matter of gratification to all reasoning men and women. But there are many who feel that this much-desired tolerance will not be complete until every office in the Nation, from the lowest to the highest, is within the reach of all, regardless of the manner in which the aspirant worships or fails to worship.

How many persons are aware that a Catholic was once nominated as a candidate for President of the United States and was voted for at the general election? In the campaign of 1872 General Grant was the nominee of the Republican Party and Horace Greeley the candidate of the Democratic and Liberal Republican Parties. There was great dissatisfaction among the Democrats over the Greeley-Brown ticket and the open opposition led to the call for a straight Democratic Convention, which was held in Louisville, Ky., on Sept. 3, 1872. The convention nominated Charles O'Conor of New York for President and John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts for Vice President. On being notified by telegraph of his nomination Mr. O'Conor promptly declined the honor. Mr. Adams said that he was willing to take second place, but only if Mr. O'Conor headed the ticket. The convention then selected James Lyon of Virginia for President, but he refused to accept. Thereupon the delegates returned to Mr. O'Conor and "left the ticket as it had been originally arranged, whether its candidates would accept or decline." In spite of his refusal to stand Mr. O'Conor received about 30,000 votes at the general election, his ticket receiving scattering ballots in twenty-three States.

Those who are familiar with the history of the United States do not need to be told that Charles O'Conor was one of the greatest lawyers of his day and generation. He conducted the prosecution of Boss Tweed, and secured his conviction. He attracted widespread attention when he went on the bail bond of Jefferson Davis with Horace Greeley. Mr. O'Conor represented Samuel J. Tilden before the Electoral Commission in the disputed Presidential election of 1876. It was during a cross-examination in the Tweed case that Charles O'Conor was stricken with what was supposed to be a fatal illness. He was attended by the Cardinal-Archbishop of New York who administered the last rites of the Church. But he recovered and appeared in court, "looking like a ghost," to finish his great work.

Tilden declared O'Conor "the greatest jurist among all the English-speaking race."

But it is interesting to note that the question of religion and the Presidency is not a new one by any means. It has figured in a greater or lesser degree in half a dozen national campaigns. Curiously enough, the first man who was called upon to face the religious test was the author of the immortal Declaration of Independence. In some unaccountable way he gained the reputation of being an unbeliever. One reason for this was that he was never identified with any particular form of religion. But his political opponents used this to advantage in many localities, particularly in New England. Many good people in that part of the country pictured him as a person with horns and hoofs, eagerly waiting for the opportunity of robbing them of the family Bible.

Historians tell us that the Puritan pulpits in Massachusetts rang with denunciations of "this infidel." He was pictured as an atheist and an enemy of the Christian religion. Yet on his deathbed he was heard to murmur: "Lord, now lettest thy servant depart in peace!" The irony of it all lay in the fact that the victim of these tirades, instead of being the foe of religion, was the author of the Virginia law which insured religious liberty to all. It was almost solely through his efforts that the Old Dominion placed on its statute books the provision that no man should be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place or ministry, nor "suffer on account of his religious opinions or beliefs," but that all men should be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinions in matters of religion, and "the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge or affect their civil capacities."

Here we have something that precisely covers the political-religious discussion which is now going on. There was no doubt about the importance which Jefferson placed on religious toleration. He considered the enactment of this law one of the three great achievements of his life. Some time before his death he asked that this inscription be placed on his tomb: "Author of the Declaration of Independence, of the Statute for Religious Liberty in Virginia and founder of the University of Virginia."

Religious Prejudice Since Jefferson

It is significant that the religious outcry against Jefferson was ineffective. It was felt in some isolated sections of the country, but fell flat in the larger and more intelligent communities. It was almost a generation after the death of Jefferson before religious prejudice of any kind was felt in a national way. It came to the surface in 1848 with the organization of the Native American or Know-Nothing Party. This movement was not only aimed at Catholics but against foreigners. The party held a convention in Philadelphia in 1847, and while it did not make a formal nomination it indorsed General Zachary Taylor for President. It was practically unknown and unfelt in the national canvass, but aided somewhat in giving the electoral vote of Pennsylvania to Taylor. It had entirely disappeared as a factor in 1860.

There was a spasmodic flareup of the religious feeling in the Presidential campaign of 1856. The object of the attack in this instance was John C. Frémont, the first candidate of the Republican Party. He was accused of being a Catholic. He does not seem to have given much attention to this allegation, although certain of his admirers were at pains to deny it. Horace Greeley, editor of *The New York Tribune*, wrote a letter on July 21, 1856, in reference to this phase of the contest, in which he said: "If Colonel Frémont were to come out with an affidavit that he never was or thought of being a Catholic it would not gain him one vote."

In a biography of the *Pathfinder*, written by John Bigelow and published in 1856 for campaign purposes, stress is laid on the fact that Frémont, at the age of 16, was confirmed in the Protestant Episcopal Church, "in which faith his mother had educated her children." In this book it is also stated that "Colonel Frémont's religion having been the subject of some discussion, it may not be improper to give the certificates of baptism of his children, furnished by the rector of the Epiphany at Washington City." Then follows a list of the names, showing that their sponsors in turn had been Colonel Benton, Kit Carson, Francis P. Blair and Colonel Frémont himself. That such pains should have been taken to disprove the rumor indicates that there must have been fear of the anti-Catholic vote. Yet Horace Greeley was probably right in feeling that the religious question was not a factor in that campaign.

The next time religious prejudice appeared in a national campaign was when James G. Blaine was the Republican candidate for the Presidency in 1884. Few men in our history have had more ardent supporters than the "magnetic man from

Maine," but he was destined to come within the shadow of the White House, only to lose the coveted prize of a lifetime. It was hinted here and there that Blaine was a Catholic, but he was not a communicant of that faith. His mother was a Catholic, but his father was a Presbyterian. Many of his near relatives were members of the ancient Church. One of his cousins was the famous Mother Angela, who made such a wonderful record as "An Angel of the Battlefield" during the Civil War. This notable nun was also related to the Ewings and the Shermans, and on her death one of the most sympathetic letters of condolence came from Mr. Blaine, who was at that time Secretary of State in the Cabinet of President Harrison.

It is quite possible that religion would not have figured in the campaign for the Presidency if it had not been for one of those blunders which in politics are often regarded as crimes. Blaine had a hard fight on his hands. He was violently opposed by the so-called Mugwumps and knew that he did not have the support of many Independent Republicans. But it was evident that this would be offset by the votes he expected to get from a certain section of the Democratic Party.

Just on the eve of the election, and at the most critical stage of the campaign, some of Blaine's friends conceived the foolish idea of offsetting the attacks that had been made upon him by having a delegation of ministers call upon him to assure him of their faith in his integrity and patriotism. The plan was carried out and the gathering was held in the old Fifth Avenue Hotel. There were hundreds of the ministers and they filled the lower lobby of the hotel. Mr. Blaine stood about half way up the main stairway in order to receive the address. Even then the affair might have been harmless enough if it had not been for the fact that the Rev. Samuel D. Burchard had been selected by his brethren to act as their spokesman. He delivered a long address and in the course of it he referred to the Democratic Party as the party of "Rum, Romanism and Rebellion."

The phrase was flashed all over the country. It figured in many of the headlines and it became the general subject of discussion. But whatever else was thought of it it spelled ruin for Mr. Blaine's Presidential hopes. He lost New York by a narrow margin, and with it he lost his fight for the White House. The fatal words were called to his attention, but too late to avert the damage. Mr. Blaine, in repudiating any sympathy for these sentiments afterward, said that he did not hear that part of Mr. Burchard's speech. He said he was thinking of the response he would make to the delegation and while thus musing had lost the import of what was being said. He added that not for worlds would he have been a party to "any reflection" upon the religion of his "sainted mother."

But he had lost the opportunity of ever becoming President of the United States. Some insist that it was Mr. Conkling who was responsible for the defeat of Mr. Blaine in that contest of 1884. His county did not rally to the support of the Man from Maine, and the reduced majority of that section of the State lost New York to the Republican Party. The one thing certain, however, is that a few hundred votes would have changed the result and given Mr. Blaine his life ambition. And who shall say that it was not the Burchard speech in the Fifth Avenue Hotel that changed victory into defeat?

Roosevelt's Resentment of Attacks on Taft

Religious prejudice was comparatively quiet in Presidential campaigns after the Blaine incident until William Howard Taft became the Republican candidate in 1908. To the majority of Americans that contest seemed commonplace enough, but beneath the surface the religious fires were seething in certain parts of the country. What is called "a whispering campaign" was being made against Mr. Taft. It was waged first because he was a Unitarian. Some orthodox religious organizations urged this against him, taking the ground that only an Evangelical Protestant should be permitted to live in the White House. At the same time he was being attacked because his wife and his brother were Catholics. As a matter of fact they were not, but this made no difference to the whisperers, who insisted that Mr. Taft would be unduly sympathetic toward Catholics. The bigots also professed to fear him because he had been the Commissioner who had gone directly to the Pope and conducted negotiations which settled the controversy over the Friars' lands in the Philippines.

President Roosevelt received some letters on this subject urging him to use his influence to have Mr. Taft publicly deny the charge that his relatives were Catholics, and they aroused the fury of the exponent of the square deal. Oscar S. Straus, who was a member of the Cabinet at that time, says that Roosevelt was tempted to answer

these letters in his characteristic way, but he was advised that it was a matter that intimately concerned Taft and that it was a matter solely for Taft's discretion. The President agreed to this, but he was incensed at this un-American attempt to bring religion into politics, "especially as Taft was every bit as good a Christian as Washington, and a better one than Jefferson and Franklin, and his Church was the same as that of Adams and Webster."

But after the election Roosevelt did answer these communications, and he did so in his usual blistering style. He declared that the demand for a statement of a candidate's religious beliefs could have no meaning except that there might be discrimination for or against him because of that belief. He said that the inevitable result of entering upon such a practice would be the abandonment of our real freedom of conscience and a reversion to the dreadful conditions of religious dissensions which in so many lands had proved fatal to true liberty, to true religion and to all advance in civilization. He said further:

> To discriminate against a thoroughly upright citizen because he belongs to some particular church, or because, like Abraham Lincoln, he has not avowed his allegiance to any church, is an outrage against that liberty of conscience which is one of the foundations of American life. You are entitled to know whether a man seeking suffrage is a man of clean and upright life, honorable in all his dealings with his fellows, and fit by qualification and purpose to do well in the great office for which he is a candidate; but you are not entitled to know matters which lie purely between himself and his Maker. If it is proper and legitimate to oppose a man for being a Unitarian, as was John Quincy Adams, for instance, as is the Rev. Edward Everett Hale, at the present moment Chaplain of the Senate and an American of whose life all good Americans are proud, then it would be equally proper to support or oppose a man because of his views on justification by faith, or the method of administering the sacrament, or the gospel of salvation by words. If you once enter on such a career there is absolutely no limit at which you can legitimately stop.

After that President Roosevelt takes up the statement of the writer that the mass of the voters will not support a man for President of the United States who is a Catholic. His answer is that this is a foul slander on Americans. "I do not for one moment," he says, "believe that the mass of our fellow-citizens or any considerable number of them can be influenced by any narrow bigotry as to refuse to vote for any upright and fit man because he happens to have a particular religious creed." He concludes by calling attention to the fact that Protestant, Catholic, Christian and Jew sit side by side in his Cabinet, and then makes this significant prediction: "I believe that this Republic will endure for many centuries. If so, there will doubtless be among its Presidents Protestants and Catholics, and very probably at some time Jews."

Wide World

ALFRED E. SMITH
Governor of New York

Thus far the religious agitation in Presidential campaigns has been caused by the fact that the candidate was suspected of being a Catholic or that his wife or sister or cousin or aunt was a member of that Church. In the coming contest the issue will come to the front in a direct fashion. The leading aspirant for the nomination on the Democratic side of the political fence is and always has been a practising member of the Catholic Church. It remains to be seen whether that, and that alone, will interfere with his winning the biggest prize within the gift of the American people.

Senator Bruce of Maryland is one of

many Protestants who refuses to believe that a man's belief in religion can affect his political progress in this country. On this subject he has expressed himself as follows:

> Two Catholics have filled the exalted position of Chief Justice of the United States—Roger B. Taney, the greatest jurist since John Marshall, and Edward D. White. The idea that either one of these illustrious and upright Justices was ever influenced in the discharge of his judicial duties by a sectarian bias is an idea that, if expressed to any student of American history, would be too despicable to awaken even a sense of languid disgust. This being so, it is hard to imagine that any serious objection could ever be made hereafter to the appointment of any one to the Chief Justiceship on the ground that he was a Catholic. The same observation might be applied, I will add, with equal force to the Chief Justiceship of the Maryland Court of Appeals. Two of the ablest, most honorable and celebrated Chief Judges that ever sat upon its bench, Judges Alvey and McSherry, were Catholics. * * * If there is no better reason for denying to Governor Smith the Presidency than the fact that he is a Catholic, he should be elected unanimously.

Senator Bruce says: "I confess that, at the present time, though a Protestant, I should prefer, other things being equal, to see a Catholic elected to the Presidency." He explains the reason for this feeling as follows: "Once elect a Catholic to that office and, in my opinion, we would never hear anything more about Catholics and Protestants in connection with it." In other words, religion would be taken out of politics in this country.

The attempt to inject sectarian strife and racial discrimination into our elections is to be chiefly attributed to those who make that sort of thing their business. They are professionals who thrive on prejudice. For the most part our people, Christians and Jews, Catholics and Protestants and unbelievers, live in complete harmony. Except where the mischief-makers and strife-breeders get to work the religious beliefs of candidates are rarely questioned.

President Roosevelt called attention to this happy state of affairs in rebuking, as follows, one of those who wanted to know the religion of William H. Taft:

> In public life I am happy to say that I have known many men who were elected and constantly re-elected to office in districts where the great majority of their constituents were of a different religious belief. I know Catholics who have for many years represented constituencies mainly Protestant, and Protestants who have for many years represented constituencies mainly Catholic; and among the Congressmen I have known particularly well was one man of Jewish faith who represented a district in which there were hardly any Jews at all. All of these men, by their very existence in political life, refute the slander you have uttered against your fellow-Americans.

The American correspondent of the London *Times* not long ago, in the course of a readable and instructive article on this phase of our politics, declared that if the religious question were to be ignored Governor Smith would be the natural and logical candidate of the Democratic Party in the next election. He calls attention to his successful administration of the Governorship, and reminds us that after a lifetime in politics he is a poor man, the glass of whose honesty has never been dimmed by a breath. This writer says: "His unquestioned right to lead the party, a right so overwhelmingly won at the polls, is the most cruel of all the dilemmas of the Democrats."

Only 19,000,000 Catholics in America

Figures also should be considered. According to the *Official Catholic Directory* for 1927, which appeared on April 24, there are only 19,483,296 Roman Catholics in the United States, out of a total population of 117,135,817 (*World Almanac*, 1926, which estimates the number of Catholics in the United States at 18,878,722).

Finally, it may not be amiss to call attention to the example which has been given us in this regard by one of the largest and most progressive republics of the Old World. France, which is overwhelmingly and traditionally Catholic, has not hesitated to select a Protestant as its President. Is there any good reason why the United States, which is preponderately Protestant, should be fearful of nominating or electing a Catholic as its Chief Magistrate?

The Fathers of the Republic provided specifically that "no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public test." As if to emphasize this, the very amendment to the Constitution declared that Congress "shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." There is no question of the wisdom of this or of its hearty acceptance by the great majority of the people. That the spirit as well as the letter of the Constitution will eventually prevail cannot be doubted. We are progressing by degrees, and a generation or two from now there will be genuine wonderment that any considerable number of the people should have dreamed of making an issue of the religious faith of a candidate for the Presidency in a land dedicated to the principles of civil and religious liberty.

The Catholic Question as Viewed by the Ku Klux Klan

By H. W. EVANS

EMPEROR AND IMPERIAL WIZARD, KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN

BEFORE examining the arguments advanced in the recent debate between Mr. C. C. Marshall and Governor Smith, I wish to express my deep appreciation of this chance to reach readers who so little understand the minds of American Protestants unaffected by the "modernistic" cult which dominates thought in the centres of retarded assimilation. I can speak with authority, of course, only for the Ku Klux Klan, but I believe that our opinions are very generally shared by the millions who have rejected the bulk of "modernism," which seems to us peculiar to the East. We learned to distrust it during the World War because it produced pacifism and active disloyalty. I hope that those who see this, hostile as many of them will be, may nevertheless bring themselves to read and learn why we maintain our position toward the Catholic in politics.

This is not an answer to Governor Smith in any sense of trying to prove that he is wrong; we wish he could have convinced us that he would have been wholly American in office, without leaning toward his own Church or danger of being influenced by it. What I seek now is to make clear why he has not done so.

This discussion between Mr. Marshall and Governor Smith has for the first time brought the "Catholic Question" fully into the open in American politics. Rightly so, for as long as there were few Catholics in America, the damage they could do was worth little excitement. But they have become so numerous and powerful that they could now work great injury; the issue has been made inevitable and it will not down until the fears of Protestants have been removed. Nor can they be removed by cries of bigotry from Roman Catholics any more than the question can be settled through prejudice on our side. There must be definite answers to two questions:

1. Is the Roman Catholic Church, in doctrines, teachings and practices, in harmony with American principles and institutions?

2. If not, can America safely or wisely endow a man adhering to that Church with political power?

We believe that the answer to both questions is an emphatic "No." We believe that the Roman Catholic Church is guilty as charged. We believe that no man can wisely be given American political trust who is aligned with it. We do except any Roman Catholic who recognizes the evils in his Church's position and fights them, but we fear this exception is theoretical rather than real, for we have found no Roman Catholics who meet that test.

Let me be explicit. We are not interested in whether a candidate for office believes in transsubstantiation or intercession of saints; we are interested in his political principles. We believe him unfit for American office so long as he avows the Roman Catholic civil policies, or—even if he faintly repudiates them—as long as his association with that Church is so close that any trust given him would reflect honor upon and strengthen it. We believe a Roman Catholic can become a trustworthy American official only when his repudiation of his Church's political ideology is so explicit, energetic and conspicuous that his Catholicism becomes as small a matter as is the sect of a Protestant; when he portrays a complete and active revolt against it both as an American and a Catholic, so that his preferment will not tend to strengthen an opponent to American principles.

Our distrust will remain until American Catholics are politically emancipated, either by an official change in the whole Church or by an official decree which separates American Catholics from the rest of the "Universal Church" and fully frees them.

Mr. Marshall sufficiently rehearsed the evidence on which our fears are founded. They centre on a proclaimed intolerance limited only by expediency, on "dual sovereignty" of Church and State, on the claim by the Church of a right to control its schools and their teachings without supervision by the State; and to pass on the validity of all marriages, even outside its

own communion. These are the historic doctrines and claims of the Roman Catholic Church; most of our rights, especially free speech, free press and free conscience, which the Roman Catholic Church denounces as "liberalism," have been won against the arms and Inquisition of that Church. Indeed, Mr. Marshall's array of evidence is chiefly valuable in showing that these doctrines are not obsolete but are still officially proclaimed and are taught in this country. Even since Mr. Smith's denials the official condemnation of all liberalism has been reaffirmed by the Vatican.

Only Official Statements Binding

Our acceptance of these facts cannot possibly be called prejudice. If we have any prejudice, it is in our refusal to accept as binding any but official statements. Two claims are always implied but never expressly stated by Roman Catholics in this discussion. They are that somehow these illiberal doctrines of the "Universal Church" are dead letters, or else that they do not apply in America. But we see them applied in other countries, and partially practiced here. So we are forced to believe that the Roman Catholic Church does not fully insist on them here only because their application in America would injure itself, that it will insist on them as soon and as far as it may find them profitable, and that it remains in America today what it always has been, an opportunist but an active, implacable and able opponent of principles which are fundamental to liberty.

We believe, therefore, that so long as these doctrines are officially proclaimed, just so long will there be danger to America from Catholics. We do not charge that membership in the Roman Catholic Church proves that a communicant is bound by all its doctrines, but we do believe that it gives us the duty, as citizens, to require of any member specific repudiation or disproof as a qualification for office. It was such a repudiation that was asked of Mr. Smith. Millions would have been glad to have him make it, for his many good qualities have won him wide respect and liking.

Mr. Smith's fundamental failure comes from his inability to separate the faith of his Church from the politics of his Church; to distinguish between the Catholic religion and Catholic encroachment on civil affairs. This distinction, obviously essential for intelligent application of American principles, is one which, strangely to us, no Roman Catholic ever allows to stand in any discussion; the cloak of his Church's religion is always thrown over its indefensible politics. We are in no way concerned with the road by which Mr. Smith elects to approach his Maker. But, since he has chosen one controlled by a great organization which has extensive earthly interests, we are interested in learning Mr. Smith's attitude toward the policies by which it promotes these earthly interests.

The questions brought to him are purely political. We wish he could have left religion out of his answer. It seems as if he were trying to change the debate from politics to religion, where he knows he is safe. If, on the other hand, this confusion is invincible in his mind, if he cannot see exact boundaries between Church and State, then how can he be expected to maintain the American line of separation?

In spite of this confusion, had Mr. Smith been content to speak only for himself, to avoid debate over doctrines, to pledge support of American principles, and to repudiate any conflicting teachings, he would have left no room for question as to his sincerity. Mr. Smith, however, elected to take upon himself the defense of his Church; and tried to show that all our convictions about it were unfounded. This was a fair way to answer Mr. Marshall, but it is also fair to demand conclusive proof rather than personal opinions.

Mr. Smith seems to us too ingenuous when he, a layman, and Father Duffy, a simple priest, attempt to explain away the statements of "infallible" Popes. We are assured that only the Popes can speak for the Church by such statements as this one by Cardinal Gibbons:

> Those who are stubborn and rebellious against Leo XIII are to found outside of France. They are to be found where they are least to be expected—in America. There are naturally divisions among the Catholics of America, not in regard to truth in matters of faith and morals, but in tendencies and movements and in the adjustments to modern circumstances and environment. There should be for us but one tendency, one movement, one method of adjustment, those indicated by Leo. Separation from Leo, opposition to his directions, is nothing else than rebellion, no matter what the efforts to dissimulate in America, as in France, under the specious names of conservatism, traditional Catholicism, religious fear of innovations. Those who resist in America the direction indicated by Leo are rebels, though they claim to be the only true and loyal Catholics. The loyal Catholics have but one name, Catholics. They have but one rule of action, the will and the example of Leo.

Wherefore Mr. Smith does not improve his case when he cites previous quotations

from this greatest American prelate or from any other.

There have been two attempts to Americanize American Catholics. After the Revolution, when all other churches cut loose from foreign control, the Roman Catholics attempted to do the same, but fa[illegible] A century later the "Americanization Movement" of the Paulists won their demand that parochial schools be taught in English. But they got no further. In both movements prelates and priests made many statements similar to those Mr. Smith quotes, but each was stopped by the Pope of the moment. The quotation from Cardinal Gibbons marks his submission after active support of the Paulists.

Mr. Smith says he does not know any *American* Catholic who holds the views set forth by Mr. Marshall. Lacking Catholic authority for distinction between American and other Catholics, we must assume that the Pope speaks for all Catholics. As to whether "any American Catholic" holds those views, it is our experience that doctrines widely taught find supporters.

Let me present some excerpts from the Roman Catholic textbook quoted by Mr. Marshall. In them "Church" always means the Roman Catholic Church, the italics being mine:

112. Q.—Why are the qualities of the Church superior to those of the civil society, or State? A.—Because the Church is a religious and supernatural society, while the State is temporal and natural. The Church is a *universal, immutable* and immortal society, while the State is particular, variable and temporal.

113. Q.—Why is the Church independent of the State? A.—Because its origin, authority and object are not from the State but from Christ. 2. Because *Christ willed that His Church, like Himself, should be independent of all earthly power.*

114. Q.—Why is the Church superior to the State? A.—Because the end to which the Church tends is the noblest of all ends.

115. Q.—*In what order or respect is the State subordinate to the Church?* A.—*In the spiritual order and all things referring to that order.*

116. Q.—*What right has the Pope in virtue of this supremacy?* A.—*The right to annul those laws or acts of Government that would injure the salvation of souls or attack the natural rights of citizens.*

117. Q.—*What more should the State do than respect the rights and the liberty of the Church?* A.—*The State should also aid, protect and defend the Church.*

119. Q.—What, then, is the principal obligation of the heads of States? A.—*Their principal obligation is to profess the Catholic religion, and,* as they are in power, *to protect and defend it.*

120. Q.—Has the State the right *and duty* to proscribe schism or heresy? A.—*Yes, it has the right and duty to do both* for the good of the nation, and for that of the faithful themselves; for religious unity is the principal foundation of social unity.

Harris & Ewing

H. W. EVANS

Emperor and Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan

121. Q.—When may the State tolerate dissenting worships? A.—*When these worships have acquired a sort of legal existence* consecrated by time and accorded by treaties or covenants.

122. Q.—*May the State separate itself from the Church?* A.—*No, because it may not withdraw from the supreme rule of Christ.*

123. Q.—*What name is given to the doctrine that the State has neither the right nor the duty to be united to the Church to protect it?* A.—*This doctrine is called LIBERALISM. It is founded principally on the fact that modern society rests on liberty of conscience and of worship, on liberty of speech and of the press.*

124. Q.—*Why is liberalism to be condemned?* A.—*Because it denies all subordination of the State to the Church. 2. Because it confounds liberty with right. 3. Because it despises the social dominion of Christ, and rejects the benefits derived therefrom.*

This is absolutely up to date. It is from the *Manual of Christian Doctrines,* with the *imprimatur* of Archbishop, now Cardinal, Dougherty, still being circulated for high

schools, academies and colleges, and now in its forty-eighth edition. Its teaching was confirmed on May 6, 1927, when Cardinal Gasparri wrote (*New York Sun*, May 7): "The Holy Father desires also to add that for every good Catholic, liberalism in all times and all forms has been not only discredited but condemned by the Church."

Mr. Smith says he has seen no conflict between Catholicism and American principles. A conflict is proved by chronic disputes about authority over schools, about the teaching of the Bible in public schools, and about the validity of civil marriages. It was emphasized recently by the wide resentment when the Knights of Columbus invoked American power against Mexico. Mr. Smith's failure to see that these are conflicts means to us that his Church has blinded or distorted his vision.

Mr. Smith accuses Mr. Marshall of garbling the quotation from the *Catholic Encyclopaedia* on "dogmatic intolerance." He says that this chapter deals with "Catholics alone." We read in the paragraph from which Mr. Marshall quoted this sentence: "As the true God can tolerate no strange Gods, the true Church of Christ can tolerate no strange churches beside herself." We cannot see how Mr. Smith can maintain that this applies only "inside the Catholic Church."

Mr. Smith's statement that this whole discussion belongs in the limbo of defunct controversies is a personal opinion offset by his own sharing in it. Four centuries ago men revolted from the Roman Catholic Church for the sake of all that Rome condemns as "liberalism." The struggle they started cannot end until Rome ceases to use all her power to crush liberalism. We still await proof that Rome has done this.

Finally, Mr. Smith asks why he is held responsible for these utterances of the head of his Church. He says they are not articles of his faith; it was never charged that they were—again the confusion between religion and politics!—but they are the official policies of that great theocratic autocracy to which he persistently adheres. He says he never heard of them. We need not dispute this. But in all his demurrers he has given us no reason to change our convictions. Abundant evidence justifies them; Rome makes no exception for American Catholics; there is a very live and immediate conflict; and Mr. Smith's membership in the Roman Catholic Church entitles us to know what he will do about its policies now that he has heard of them. We find no answer so far and proceed to look for one in his replies to specific questions.

The first was whether Mr. Smith endorsed his Church's doctrine that the State may tolerate other religions as a matter of policy, and not of right. Mr. Smith quotes American prelates; I have already shown why their remarks carry no weight. We find no denial that this is Roman doctrine, nor repudiation of it.

Church Supremacy Over State

On the question regarding supremacy of his Church over the State, Mr. Smith says that in case of conflict a Catholic would appeal to his conscience. This sounds well, but consciences have caused devastating wars, and the Pope assures us that a good Catholic's conscience will fight liberalism. Also our American principles most emphatically do not leave obedience to law to each man's conscience; only the right to try to change a law while still obeying it. Particularly, they do not allow a public official to judge, even conscientiously, whether he shall obey and enforce a law.

Mr. Smith points out that his Church has no tribunal to decide a conflict; even so, we fear the result of the doctrines it has taught. He adds that Bishop England once warned the Pope not to interfere with the Constitution; we wonder what the Bishop, or Mr. Smith, would do if the Pope ignored their warnings.

Mr. Smith tells us that he appointed thirteen Protestants and only two Catholics in his Cabinet. This seems beside the question, but it flatters us that Mr. Smith, seeking the best counselors without thought of their religion, should choose only two Catholics to thirteen Protestants in a State where 63 per cent. of all church membership is Roman Catholic. The proportion should have been nine Catholics to six Protestants; evidently Mr. Smith himself finds his fellow-communicants far below Protestants in fitness for public service. Thus Mr. Smith makes four replies, but still has not told us whether he supports his Church's claim to supremacy.

Regarding control of schools and the State's right to prevent the teaching of disloyalty, Mr. Smith says he never heard of any such "stuff" as Mr. Marshall charges is being taught. My quotation from the *Manual of Christian Doctrines* shows that it is taught. We quite agree that such teaching is "stuff," and I am glad to pledge to Mr. Smith our full support for an act to prevent it in his own State. But Mr. Smith has not

told us whether he thinks the State has the right to do this.

Mr. Marshall's fourth question had to do with the Roman Catholic Church's claim to exclusive jurisdiction over all marriages, and he cited the action of the Rota in the Marlborough case. Mr. Smith replies that this merely fixed the status of the Roman Catholic Church's own communicants and leaves the clear inference that this is all that his Church ever attempts to do. The official teachings of his Church in this country flatly contradict his denial. His Church presumes to pass on the validity of all marriages; its position is set forth in the *Manual of the Holy Catholic Church*, with the *imprimatur* of Archbishop Quigley, and endorsements from scores of prelates. It says (page 187):

> 9. Marriage of all Catholics (both parties Catholic) before a minister or civil magistrate is no marriage at all.
> 10. Marriage of all fallen-away Catholics (who have become Protestants or infidels) before a minister or civil magistrate is no marriage.
> 11. Marriage of a Catholic to a non-baptized person is never a real marriage unless the Church grants a dispensation. Such a marriage before a minister or justice of the peace is no marriage.
> 12. Marriage of a Catholic to a Protestant (one never baptized in the Catholic Church) before a minister or a civil magistrate is no marriage.
> 13. Marriage of a Protestant to a Protestant (provided they were never baptized in the Catholic Church) is valid.
> 14. Marriage of a Protestant (baptized) to a non-baptized party is no marriage.
> 15. Marriage of a non-baptized man to a non-baptized woman is valid as a life-long contract. These parties do not receive, however, the Sacrament of Matrimony.
> 16. There will be no marriage at all unless there be two witnesses—one witness with the priest will not suffice.

The Rota in the Marlborough case went beyond even these claims. It rejected a marriage between persons neither of whom was a communicant; a ceremony held valid by another Church, valid under the laws of a sovereign American State, and confirmed by the Realm of Great Britain.

Mr. Smith makes no defense of his Church's requirements as a condition to marriage of a pledge from both bride and groom renouncing religious liberty for their children. He was in no way required to discuss it, but it is important. All in all, Mr. Smith's handling of this question could hardly be expected to remove any of our doubts.

Mr. Smith's attitude toward his Church's claim of a right to demand that we war upon Mexico is satisfactory. To be sure, he does not deny that it claims this right, but contents himself with proving that it is not trying to enforce it. He does, however, make a flat statement that he does not believe his Church has this right. His exception is justified; it would be proper to use armed force in defense of missionaries—for the sake of men instead of for a Church—if they are our own citizens, and to convey them to security. It happens that few Roman Catholic priests in Mexico are American nationals, and that their safe conduct out of Mexico seems the last thing the Catholic Church wants. So he leaves himself no possible excuse for supporting his Church on this matter.

The last question concerned the propriety of beatifying a man whose claim to fame was treason for the sake of Mr. Smith's Church, to the Government which was the chief defender of the liberties we now enjoy. We wonder whether Mr. Smith's failure to reply means that he approves reward for such treason.

A Clash of Ideals

Thus Mr. Smith's specific answers satisfy us little better than did his general demurrer, but they do reveal a clear clash of ideals. Americans hold certain political principles; Mr. Smith tried to answer the charge that his Church opposes them. Let me summarize the fifteen specific questions discussed:

1. The difference between religion and politics. Mr. Smith does not see it.
2. His assumption to speak for his Church. All evidence of authority is lacking.
3. His denial of a conflict does not remove that conflict.
4. His charge that Mr. Marshall garbled quotations. Disproved by further evidence.
5. Are these doctrines held in America? Mr. Smith's denial disproved by further evidence.
6. Distinction between Americans and other Catholics. No evidence.
7. The patriotic services of Roman Catholics. An emotional appeal; true and admirable but without bearing.
8. That this is a defunct controversy. Mark Twain once authorized a statement that the report of his death was exaggerated.
9. His responsibility for the doctrines of his Church. An evasion in reply. He was asked whether he accepted them and does not even deny responsibility.
10. The Roman Catholic attitude toward

toleration. Mr. Smith's denial again disproved by further evidence.

11. The supremacy of his Church over the State. We still await an answer.

12. Disloyal teaching and control of schools. Answered by evasion, backed by misinformation.

13. His Church's jurisdiction over all marriages. Answered by evasion, backed by both ignorance and misinformation.

14. His Church's right to send us to war against Mexico. A satisfactory answer for himself.

15. Beatification as reward for treason. No answer.

Thus we have received a satisfactory answer on only one question. And this is the best that a skilled politician and an able priest can do!

Governor Smith's Personal Stand

If Mr. Smith's closing declaration of personal principles stood alone instead of upon so shaky a foundation, it would have gone far toward convincing us as to Mr. Smith himself. To be sure, we find in it no acknowledgment of the supremacy of the State. We find it entirely in accord with the Roman Catholic theory of two coordinate jurisdictions. We find no admission of the State's right to determine what is a valid marriage nor to prevent disloyal teachings under the name of religion.

We find also no declaration of loyalty to the State as against the Church in case of conflict on civil policies; no pledge of action of any kind; nothing that in any way binds Mr. Smith. When our forefathers set forth the principles of liberty in the Declaration of Independence, they felt called upon to confirm their beliefs by pledging to their support "our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor." We wish Mr. Smith could have found it within his purposes to confirm his declaration. He has been known to use unmistakable language and to make pledges.

Still, this closing statement makes appeal, and is more nearly American in tone than many of us believed could come sincerely from any Roman Catholic. We wish we could judge him by it alone. But he would not let us. It is he who insists that on this purely political question we must judge him by his Church. He forces us to do the very thing that most often brings upon us charges of prejudice. What Mr. Marshall really offered Mr. Smith was a chance to stand from out the shadow of his Church and accept judgment upon himself alone as a man. Mr. Smith declined that opportunity.

So we return to our bigotry! At his own insistence we judge Mr. Smith by his Church. And what new evidence as to his Church do we find? What convincing explanation of its apparent enmity to liberty? None. Worse than none. We find it meeting direct charges and plain questions with attempts to cloud the issues, to evade, to shift attention, to shift responsibility, and sometimes with what seem plain misstatements.

We admire Mr. Smith's gallantry, but we cannot admire his sagacity, for the task he undertook is beyond the capacity of any layman or of any priest, no matter how estimable. No one can by mere argument bring us to acquit the Roman Catholic hierarchy, the theocratic autocracy, the "last of the great dynastic powers," in face of the plain evidence of its record, its pronouncements and its practices.

Only the Roman Catholic hierarchy itself can do that. If it now encourages liberty, it can easily say so. If it will let its communicants be free, it can release them. If it claims no supremacy over the State, no special position above other denominations, no immunity for its schools, and no jurisdiction over non-Catholic marriages, it can tell us all so. It can remove all our doubts about our Roman Catholic fellow-citizens either by putting the whole of the "Universal Church" in line with modern liberal thought, principles and practices, or by granting to American Catholics the right to convictions differing from those of the "Universal Church."

But this must be done officially, unequivocally, irrevocably and by the supreme authority of the Church. No confused, equivocal and unauthoritative explanation or interpretation, such as Mr. Smith has given, will justify Protestant Americans in ignoring dangers so thoroughly and recently proven.

There is point and purpose in discussion of the meaning of the Word of God, for that is ancient. But it is nonsense to discuss the Word of Popes, for the Pope is present, and amply able to speak convincingly for himself. His refusal—officially given—to speak thus seems to confirm utterly our opinion that he fears to have us know clearly what are the purposes of his Church.

Catholics Uphold Americanism

By WILLIAM FRANKLIN SANDS
A Distinguished American Catholic Layman and Diplomat

IT is difficult to see how anything could be added with advantage to the Marshall-Smith correspondence as an episode. A question was asked therein satisfactorily, at least to the public, if not to the proponent. It is thought to be a closed incident. Nevertheless, it is a fact that interest has been aroused in the historical points of that correspondence, not controversially, but in an inquiring spirit. People are beginning to realize that it is a vast subject and that it is not new. It is in that sense that I have accepted the invitation of the editors of Current History to clarify further certain points which were sufficiently clear perhaps to the parties to that correspondence, but not necessarily clear at all to a great many of their readers. It is to them that the editors ask me to address myself, not to the principals.

It is specifically Mr. Marshall's second letter that interests us. In that letter it was made plain that religion is not in question, but "polity." One simply cannot assume that all words not in very common use are understood in exactly the same sense by all readers. The definition of "polity" is as follows: "The permanent system of government of a State, a church or a society; the method of management with reference to the attainment of certain ends. * * * Polity in ecclesiastical use serves a valuable purpose in distinguishing that which relates to administration and government from that which relates to faith and doctrine." The question therefore hinges primarily on the permanency of a system of administration, or perhaps, permanent policy to attain an end, not on the permanency of doctrine; yet the doctrine must be mentioned.

There is necessarily (as we believe) permanency of doctrine in the Catholic Church, using the word doctrine as that which is defined as necessary to believe with regard to God because God has revealed it, and that which flows from it as corollary from theorem.

There is no necessary permanency in the system of government of the Catholic Church or its method of management and administration, beyond that there must be a Pope and Bishops in a body of believers, and that Pope and Bishops have necessary and specific powers. Today, for instance, a Pope is chosen by an electoral college somewhat vaguely analogous to the electoral college of the United States, called the College of Cardinals. These Cardinals, were originally the first fixed clergymen (after the emergence of the Christians from the catacombs) in a wandering body. The Apostles were wandering missionaries. After the persecution of Christians, when fixed buildings for worship were first established, these became centres of missionary effort, and in each a Bishop (with later, assistant priests), made his permanent headquarters. These churches were called the "hinges" (*cardo*, in Latin); gradually, being permanent fixtures, their incumbents became the ordinary advisers of the Pope, were given the suffix "Cardinalis" and took part, with the nobles and people of Rome, in the election of new Popes. Because of electoral abuses, the right or privilege of the nobles and people of Rome to assist in electing a Pope was withdrawn, revived several times and taken away again as often, until in our day the Cardinals alone elect a Pope and from their own number.

The strict requirement for election to the Papacy, however, is only that the Pope may be "any male Christian who is not a schismatic, a heretic, nor a notorious simonist." That is all, and in discussing "permanent" administration it is important to note it, for though the Catholic Church has a complete right to its own methods of internal administration of its own affairs, and nobody questions that right, it is true that every act of the Church affects the world; therefore it is useful to know something of its administrative organization.

It is also too lightly assumed that Bishops are (to use a political illustration) "governors of an outlying province," subject to an all-powerful central administration. In reality that is not so. Bishops are consecrated as autonomous administrators with powers as full, within their jurisdiction, as the Apostles had in the original Church, subject to supervision from Rome on the condition of faith and morals within their territory and using a uniform code of canon

law applicable only to their own communion, and subject also to the same authority of the Pope as was exercised by Peter over the Apostles.

Enough has been said to indicate that in the matter of polity ("permanent system of government of * * * a church") the Catholic Church can and does so fit itself to the society in which it operates that outside of a small number of essentials which are permanent the outward form is not necessarily permanent. In a feudal world the Church partook of the appearance of feudalism; it is conceivable that in a completely different world the Church could reassume the form which it possessed in the early ages of Christianity, or take a quite different form. It must be granted, however, that world conditions do not yet tend that way and that the Church, with over 1,900 years behind it and all of time before it, is a slow-moving body—a situation which does not disturb its members, but does influence their psychology profoundly.

Historical Aspect

It is necessary to realize that the subject is historical and that the "conflict" which formed the basis of the Marshall-Smith correspondence has been thrashed out and argued within the Catholic Church since certainly the Fourth Century. From the conversion to Christianity of the Emperor Constantine one may find voluminous and heated discussions *within the church* as to the relative importance or precedence of Emperor or Pope, first academically, then in great and serious earnest, until in the eleventh century one finds the Pope wishing to put himself at the head of the temporal rule "exercising the power described in Jeremiah i:10," while the Emperor speaks of his "traditional right" to make and unmake Popes. Certainly each was putting forward an extreme view of his office, and, equally, neither represented even the general sentiment and belief.

There is no argument which can be brought forward today by any modern student which has not its counter argument in the domestic controversy which began before there was any non-Catholic Christian Church; there is no quotation from "Church writers," even Popes, against which one could not bring counter quotations from others. Many went to extremes, and it is not in the extremes that one should look for the prevailing opinion, but in what rights each of the domestic controversialists concedes to the other side. With Dante, Ockham, Leo III or Pius X one should not fail to place for instance Pius IX, who declared expressly that "for their execution in the temporal sphere (polity), the ecclesiastical ideals depend no less than the lay ideals on the consent and custom of the people, in the absence of which the Papacy no longer claims to exercise powers and rights that public law and common consent once accorded to the supreme judge of Christendom for the common welfare" (July 20, 1871), which the Pope was by common consent when independent Christian bodies did not exist. Popes were the usual arbitrators and peacemakers in Europe, not by usurpation or as claiming to be supreme temporal rulers, but by the simple fact of being called upon so to act by the parties in interest. That is the historical fact which is so often insufficiently investigated in modern speculation in this field.

It is essential to allude to certain facts which lie at the root of continued misunderstanding and which particularly concern ourselves:

1. That the United States were built upon the war wreckage of Europe; that the Colonies out of which they grew (no matter what the Colonial founding Governments intended) were in fact places of rest behind the "fighting lines," in which broken men might be reconstituted. The Colonies of the Atlantic Coast were opened during the general period of the politico-religious struggle which devastated Europe, which we call the Thirty Years War, and were settled during the following one hundred years of political and religious enmity. Our later great flow of immigration came from countries in which some degree of suppression of the two most powerful of human aspirations had molded men's characters and embittered them.

2. That the phenomenon which enters in part into the Marshall-Smith correspondence (the ideal of a theocratic state) is not only not unknown in our own history, but has been a constructive part of it. The attempt to balance all religious forms by denying to government any power over religion, which is the cornerstone of the American structure, would not have been thought to be necessary by the founders, were this not true.

3. That nowhere in the world does "the public" change so rapidly as in the United States, through material prosperity and cultural development of the individual as well as through accretion from other countries, and as a natural consequence thereof, we are beclouded by persistent memory of past overseas disabilities in religion and politics

running parallel with an unretentive memory of discussion of its causes prior to our own day.

4. That finally and consequently, no matter what has been said in the past, these things are new to us here in each generation, though it is distinctly observable that in each succeeding generation objections are restated with less bitterness, less rancor, more suavely and sympathetically and with greater willingness to study the question.

It is very clearly observable that in present-day open discussion of the Catholic Church the issue is no longer mainly theological; differences in creed are not emphasized and arouse less enmity. Criticism is less generally addressed to religion, which is treated with profound respect. Series of "Confession of Creed" such as the *Forum* produced are remarkable, not for their differences, but for the common fund which they evidence. Disagreement is primarily addressed to externals—to Works rather than to Faith; to the activities and administration of the religious body concerned, wherein it may affect Americans in general—in particular, at present, to the teaching of such a body upon the relation of Church and State.

Catholic Church Organization

The Catholic Church is a religious body. It has, for internal administrative purposes, something of the form of a corporation. It is central in character, inasmuch as all who belong to its communion, wherever situated, believe and profess an identical religious creed and are in union thereby with the centre of the corporate body. It is international in character inasmuch as its membership extends to all nations and partakes of the characteristics of all nations and peoples, and outside of matters of common creed it governs itself according to the peculiarities of those nations and peoples.

It may be stated this way: It is common principles that count; the methods are important but secondary. In this particular matter it is the principle underlying the relation of Church and State that counts, and on that point what is being asked of the Church is precisely what most people outside of the Church resent and reject, precisely what outside of faith and morals the Church cannot give; that sort of authoritative final pronouncement which we call (and our neighbors object to our calling) an *infallible definition.* That is what is being asked now in this discussion of Church and State, and it cannot be had.

What do Catholics believe about the State? First of all it may be said that the form of nationalism run wild which puts the nation, the State, above religion, above morality, above God, is plainly and frankly abhorrent to Catholics. Those upon whom the burden falls of interpreting thought on that point are uncompromising. There, if you please, can be raised the spectre of "irrepressible conflict," but only under certain conditions, and those conditions must be repeated, even if one may be conscious that in these days of soft thinking and easy going any positive concept limiting the absolute irresponsibility of the individual is irksome to a great many people. Several historical instances might occur to any one to show absorption of the Church into the national State continuing into our own times. Illustrations might be offered from history of attempts to absorb the State into the Church. "State churches" do not need to be specified here. In the correspondence under discussion quotations advanced from papal statements on this point are clear as to the belief and teaching of Catholics that the field of activity of Church and State are distinct and may not be merged. Between these fields there is very truly a twilight zone. Which authority should prevail should an issue arise within that zone? Not the State. American doctrine is sound there.

It is an American principle that over religion, government shall have no power whatever. There is "irrepressible conflict" only when the State is exalted to absolute supremacy over the individual, over all institutions. It exists wherever the State refuses to recognize the unalienable rights upon which our American structure is built; rights not assailable by the State as we believe, and not transferable to the State by any citizen nor by a majority of citizens.

The apparent contradiction which called forth the Marshall-Smith correspondence lies in the "universal, organized and constant teaching" of the Church and the *practice* of the Church on this point. From the letters in *The New York Times* one might conclude that to this teaching a concerted movement to invade the State completely is a logical and necessary consequence, with the object, specifically, of making the American State and nation dependent upon "a political sovereignty extraterritorial and foreign to every State,

and yet claiming jurisdiction over morals in all States," as soon as numbers of Catholics within the United States permit them to attain that object by force or by amendment of the Constitution, and so forth. The discrepancy lies, not in the teaching of the Church, but in the interpretation of its teaching.

Three principal views in the relations of Church and State are sufficient for our purposes:

1. Absolute supremacy of the State in all things (Hegel) with the Church a mere department of government.

2. Absolute supremacy of the Church in both temporal and spiritual matters: temporal rulers mere agents of the Roman Pontiff, holding supreme temporal and spiritual power over the whole world (Augustus Triumphus *et al*).

3. Modernistic liberalism: religion entirely and solely the affair of the individual.

Catholic Doctrine of the State

With regard to them Catholic doctrine is solid on the three following propositions:

1. Church and State are distinct and perfect societies, each supreme in its own province.

2. Church and State should be joined in mutual and friendly cooperation.

3. The State is *indirectly* (not *directly*) subordinate to the Church. The Church is supernatural. The State is natural. One is concerned with man's eternal welfare; the other with his temporal well being. "Subordination" here is used in the same manner that the ends to be attained by the two societies are subordinated one to the other; man's care of his bodily and worldly and temporal needs are *subordinate* to his care of his soul's needs in eternity. *Direct* subordination is what seems to be feared, and that is very different. According to a recent specialist on this subject who has put it rather clearly, "a society is *directly* subordinated to another when it has the same end in view and its sphere of action falls within that of the superior society. For example, the political divisions of a nation are directly subordinated to the nation itself, and the dioceses of the Church to the Church as a whole. In *direct* subordination the superior society has jurisdiction over the inferior with authority to prescribe its course of action and to approve or nullify any of its acts. There can be no question of such subordination of State to Church. "*The State, being a perfect society, supreme in its own order, is not and cannot be directly subject to the Church.*" What happens then to the statement quoted in this correspondence, "the Pope has the right to *annul* those laws or acts of government that would injure the salvation of souls or attack the natural rights of citizens"?

"The duty of the Roman Pontiff obliges him to instruct all the members of his commission in their duties. Therefore if a law of the State is contrary to the law of God, the Pope is bound in conscience to instruct the faithful that such law cannot be obeyed."

If all or a large majority of the citizens be Catholics this declaration would of course be equivalent to deposition of a monarch.

"In this sense only does the Pope as such have the power to depose civil rulers. Whatever the direct power of deposing rulers Popes may have exercised in the Middle Ages, it was not done by the Pope as such, but by virtue of international law or custom recognized at the time by all as conferring such authority upon the Pope as the supreme judge of Christian nations. The sort of subordination which is claimed here for the Church is only *indirect* and *negative;* it demands that the State refrain from any action that would cause her citizens or rulers to violate their duties to the Church or interfere in any way with the Church's exercise of spiritual authority over every member."

That is American doctrine as well as the belief of Catholics.

It must be emphasized in this matter that it is an "ideal" world which is being considered in this teaching. Some writers have called it a Utopia. Permanent teaching of fundamental principle is one thing. It is no inconsistency therewith to realize that the world shows no tendency to be governed by any such principle. The "irrepressible conflict" can only arise by invasion by either Church or State of the jurisdiction of the other. It is not claimed today that such invasion is any more imminent from the Church than from the absolute State. Conflict is not inherent in the situation here except on the assumption that violation of the principles of both the American State and the Catholic Church is a natural thing and to be expected. The imposition of its doctrines by the Church on the people of the United States who do not believe with the Church, by force, by chicanery, by "amendment to the Constitution" (a possibility suggested elsewhere in this connection) would be invasion and contrary to the

Church's own teaching. The question of "political sovereignty extraterritorial and foreign to every State" (the sovereignty of the Pope) has not escaped the attention of the Government of the United States.

Seward's Attitude

During the period from 1848 to 1868, when the United States accredited diplomatic representatives to the Vatican and maintained there a line of Protestant diplomats of a high order, such Secretaries of State as James Buchanan, Daniel Webster, Marcy and William Seward were very analytical of the conditions upon which the legation was established. Seward, who was Lincoln's Secretary of State, for example, in an instruction to R. M. Blatchford, dated Washington, Sept. 27, 1862, has this to say:

> This Government has not now, it seldom has had, any special transaction either commercial or political to engage the attention of a Minister at Rome. Indeed until a very late period the United States were without any representation at that ancient and interesting capital.
>
> The first colonists in this country were chiefly Protestants who not merely recognized no ecclesiastical authority of the Pope, but were very jealous lest he might exert some ecclesiastical influence here which would be followed by an assumption of political power unfavorable to freedom and self-government on this continent. *It was not seen that the political power of the Catholic Church was a purely foreign affair constituting an important part of the political system of the European Continent.* The opening of our country as an asylum to men of all religions as well as of all races and an extension of the trade of the Union in a short time brought with them large masses of the faithful members of that church of various birth and derivation and these masses are continually augmenting. Our country has not been slow to learn that, while religion is with these masses, as it is with others, a matter of conscience, and while the spiritual authority of the head of their Church is a cardinal article of their faith which must be tolerated on the soundest principles of civil liberty, yet that this faith in no degree necessarily interferes with the equal rights of the citizen, or affects unfavorably his loyalty to the Republic. It is believed that ever since the tide of emigration set in upon this continent the head of the Roman Church and States has freely recognized and favored the development of the principle of political freedom on the part of the Catholics in this country, while he has never let an opportunity pass to express his satisfaction with the growth, prosperity and progress of the American people. It was under these circumstances that this Government, in 1848, wisely determined that, while it maintained representatives in the capitals of every other civilized State and even at the capitals of many semi-civilized States which reject the whole Christian religion, it was neither wise nor necessary to exclude Rome from the circle of our diplomatic intercourse. Thus far the new relation thus established has proved pleasant and beneficent.
>
> Just now Rome is the seat of profound ecclesiastical and political anxieties which more or less affect all the nations of Europe. The Holy Father claims immunity for the temporal power he exercises as a right incident to an ecclesiastical authority which is generally respected by the European States. On the other hand, some of those States, with large masses in other States, assert that his temporal power is without any religious sanction, is unnecessary and pernicious. I have stated the question merely for the purpose of enabling myself to give you the President's views of what will be your duty with regard to it. *That duty is to forbear altogether from taking part in the controversy.* The reasons for this forbearance are three:
>
> *First:* That so far as spiritual or ecclesiastical matters enter the question, they are beyond your province, for you are a political representative only.
>
> *Second:* So far as it is a question affecting the Roman States, it is a domestic one and we are a foreign nation.
>
> *Third:* So far as it is a political question merely, it is at the same time purely a European one, and you are an American Minister bound to avoid all entangling connection with the politics of that Continent.
>
> This line of conduct will nevertheless allow you to express and you are therefore instructed to express to His Holiness the assurances of the best wishes of the Government and of the people of the United States for his health and happiness and for the safety and prosperity and happiness of the Roman people. And you will further assure him that the United States constantly preserves a living remembrance of the many generous and liberal manifestations they have received of his good-will and friendship and that he may confidently rely upon them for the practice of all the duties which grow out of the relations of the two countries as independent members of the family of nations.

Here we have the United States recognizing a Pope as a sovereign, for the plain and simple reason that he was so recognized in the political system of Europe. In what does that sovereignty consist which we "the President and People of the United States," recognized at that time in the most formal way in which these things are done between States? As far as our Government was concerned it depended upon the Papal States, a small territory, but nevertheless as truly a sovereign State as any that arose in Europe.

There is, however, confusion in people's minds between the purely political sovereignty of the head of the ancient Papal States and that other sovereignty which is inherent in the Pope which may be ex-

pressed thus: (1) Absence of subordination. (2) Juridical equality with Governments, that is, complete independence of Popes from the status of subjects.

The Pope cannot be any one's subject. His status does not need to be tied in with any territory, with any "clod of earth" (as Spuller put it). It is extraterritorial and inherent in his office. That is, not a "political sovereignty," though it seems to be used in that sense in this correspondence. It does not carry with it the concept of political allegiance in the sense of political allegiance, for example, to the United States. It does carry with it the concept of allegiance of Catholics to the head of their Church in matters spiritual, in matters of internal administration, and in the field of interpretation of the moral law, of moral unalienable rights, and it is historically demonstrable that the "universal, organized and constant teaching of the Roman Catholic Church" places the individual conscience supreme, no matter how often that teaching may have been violated by either churchmen or laymen.

Since the Catholic Church touches every activity of life it is possible to find very definite thought among Catholics on every activity of life, containing a very great variety of opinion, and some quite radical divergence in the application of principle. One may be very definitely convinced of what would constitute the "ideal" world, and in it the relation of the Church and of the State, and at the same time be equally convinced that this ideal will not be soon or ever realized. People are prone to forget that until a relatively short time ago the Western Christian world was Catholic; there were no non-Catholic Christian bodies, nor were there any national States in the present day acceptance of the term.

When the break came in the Christian community the Church was (since greater matters were at stake) more fully entitled to resist secession than were even the United States justified in resisting the secession of the Southern Confederacy. That does not mean that today the descendants of those who seceded must be reunited by force or guile or by "amendment to the Constitution." The principle of what is ideal may be upheld. We believe that it must be upheld, even if after the lapse of time it be considered by many people who are not otherwise unsympathetic to it to be unpractical, a pure Utopia.

Much ground has been gained since the religious wars which left us all bitter and suspicious. It is a distinct step forward that at least in the United States we can speak freely and find general respect for—if not agreement with—honest belief and respect also for that firmness of conviction which in our loose way we erroneously call "intolerance." Tolerance might be conceived as simply that—respect for conviction with which one disagrees profoundly, and in such general discussion it should really not be assumed that Catholics are of necessity either disingenuous or that, while quite honest with their neighbors, they are perhaps not fully informed of the far reaching plans and profound thoughts of "the clerical body which rules them with an iron hand not always cased in velvet." That is assuming too much for reasonable discussion.

[The following statement by Mgr. Patrick J. Breslin appeared in the issue dated June 5, 1927, of the *Parish Monthly*, published by the Church of Our Lady of Mercy, one of the largest parishes in the Borough of the Bronx, New York City:

Catholics Do Not Believe—

That the Pope is God.
That the Pope can do no wrong.
That the Pope has temporal rights in America.
That the Pope can claim their political allegiance.
That the Pope can nullify laws, oaths or contracts at will.

They Do Not Believe—

That the marriages of Protestants are invalid.
That married Protestants are living in sin.
That the children of Protestants are illegitimate.
That contracts with Protestants may be broken.
That Protestants may be hated or persecuted.
That Protestants will all be damned.

They Do Not Believe—

That public schools are an evil.
That they ought to be abolished or destroyed.
That they ought not to be supported by taxes.
That education ought not to be universal and free.
That it ought not to be compulsory where necessary.

They Do Not Believe—

That they can buy forgiveness of sin.
That they can purchase freedom from Purgatory.
That they can get indulgence to commit sin.
That sin can be forgiven without repentance.

They Do Not Believe—

That images may be worshiped.
That any body or thing may be worshiped or adored "in the heavens above, or the earth below, or the waters beneath the earth" but the one true God.]

Britain's New Industrial and Political Crisis

By SIDNEY WEBB

MEMBER OF THE BRITISH HOUSE OF COMMONS AND OF THE FIRST BRITISH LABOR CABINET

THERE is, perhaps, no part of the realm of thought or action in which the unexpected is so certain, and yet so unpredictable, as in British politics. Mr. Baldwin's Ministry, by introducing, in April last, the Trade Disputes and Trade Unions Bill, with the intention and complete power of making it law during July, 1927, has transformed, at one stroke, not only the position and the immediate prospects of all three political parties and the likelihood of the continuance after 1928 of the present Conservative Administration, but also the status and the future evolution of British trade unionism, and the possibilities for a whole decade, of a reconciliation, in British industry, between capital and labor.

To the social historian this measure, summing up the experiences of the past twelve months, must constitute a turning point in British economic evolution. As to the direction in which the evolution will be turned, and with what results, there are diametrically opposite views, which will not be discussed in this objective study; together with some hotly disputed predictions, which only time can test. Yet the professed intentions of the Ministry, as stated by the Prime Minister, are platitudinous in their innocuousness. Mr. Baldwin's Cabinet purports only to be prohibiting (1) a "general strike" in coercion of the Government of the nation; and (2) the intimidation by strikers of "blacklegs" or "scabs"—both of these prohibitions being, it is claimed, in substance, only declaratory of the existing criminal law—further (3), to be preventing dissentient members of trade unions from being virtually forced to contribute to the support of the Labor Party in Parliament; and (4) to be forbidding trade unions of "established civil servants" from affiliation to outside labor organizations or to any political party. But the Prime Minister's intention is one thing, and the proposed law is another. What will be enacted is not the Prime Minister's proposals, but, with more or less confused amendment, the bill now before the House of Commons. The phraseology of the measure is such that its effect goes beyond the objects described by Mr. Baldwin. It is calculated, if not designed, to make not only the general strike, but also any extensive "sympathetic strike," and indeed any national strike, even in a single industry of magnitude, practically impossible, and, incidentally, both a criminal offense and a cause of trade union bankruptcy.

While the measure admittedly includes no one of the various minor legal changes that are called for to improve the organization and increase the legitimate efficiency of trade unions, it constitutes, in its terms, a far-reaching attack upon the legal rights believed to have been conferred upon trade unions by the century of legislation from 1825 to 1917. It is asserted, not by trade unionists only, but also by their legal advisers and their friends among the economists, that it may easily result in putting the British trade unions practically in as bad a position, both as to the criminal law and as to their civil liability for damages, as they were under the Anti-Combination acts of 1799 and 1800. Now, it has for generations been one of the boasts of British political history that, while parties alternated and Ministries came and went, there was never any substantial reversal of what had actually been done. It is, in fact, so unusual for British legislation, by whichever party majority it is carried, to be seriously reactionary, in the strict meaning of that word, that some explanation of the policy of Mr. Baldwin's Cabinet is called for.

To find the cause of this new and momentous departure in British politics we have to go back twelve months, and, as will be presently explained, even a few years. The impelling "mandate" for the new law—as the Prime Minister expressly declares—is to be found, not in anything that was at issue at the general election of 1924, when the legal status of trade unionism was not mentioned, but in the public judgment on the so-called "general strike" of May 3-12,

1926. The coming out on strike not at the command of their several trade union Executive Committees, but at the behest of the General Council of the Trade Union Congress, of 1,500,000 of railway and other transport workers, dock and harbor laborers, iron and steel workers and all kinds of building and printing operatives—avowedly in sympathy with 1,000,000 coal miners whom the 1,300 colliery companies (the "coal owners") had, on the preceding Friday, simultaneously discharged ("locked out") on the expiry of the notices given by these employers in every colliery in Great Britain—inevitably caused immense public inconvenience and widespread, though, as presently appeared, in the aggregate, unexpectedly small financial loss. The community was shocked and surprised at the momentarily almost complete stoppage of trains and tramcars and omnibuses, of the transport of mails and goods, of building operations, and, above all, of the daily issue of newspapers. But the promptitude and vigor with which the Government handled the situation and the immediate response of volunteers from all classes, rapidly created substitute services; and day by day the transport of passengers, mails and goods and the issue of newspapers were increasingly resumed. In ten days the colossal "sympathetic strike" was "called off," to prevent its imminent collapse; and work was resumed without the loss of a single life, without a shot being fired, with the scantiest possible display of the troops, without any outbreak of looting and with a minimum of mob violence or even serious disorder.

Union Leaders' Grandiloquence

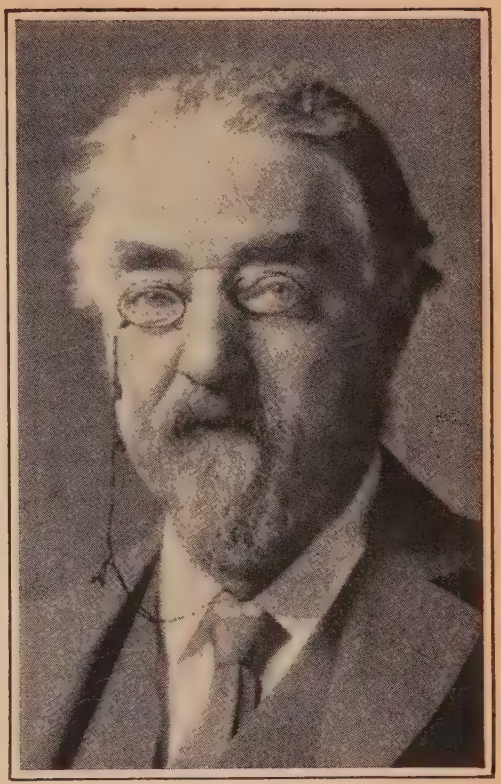
Two features only of this amazing episode in British history gave it, to the British "governing class" and to all "conservative-minded" people, a sinister aspect. Many of the trade union "leaders" (though the most prominent among those actually in command of the "general strike" were, curiously enough, among the most "moderate" in opinion) used absurdly inflated language, and apparently felt assured of "bringing the Government to its knees"—a grandiloquent phrase which meant only inducing the Cabinet to press the coal owners to offer equitable terms to their former employes. What was much more serious, though irrelevant to the "general strike" itself, was that the dispute in the mining industry, initiated by the coal owners' simultaneous discharge of their million employes, dragged on for no less than seven and a half months; was supported by contributions of some $5,000,000 (£1,000,000) from the Russian working class (this invidious subvention by the Bolshevists amounted, however, to no more than 2 cents per miner's family per day); was directed by the Miners' Federation under the influence of its Secretary, A. J. Cook, in such a way as to alienate the public opinion which had at the outset been strongly favorable to the miners; almost entirely stopped the heavier manufacturing industries of the nation, inflicting on the community a loss of possibly a couple of billion dollars (£400,000,000) and was only finally brought to an end by an unprecedented Government importation of foreign coal on a colossal scale, leading to the men's final submission to the terms arbitrarily imposed by the coal owners, which were so humiliating, so impoverishing and so crushing as to insure new trouble as soon as this one-tenth of the whole population of Great Britain recovers from its present severe privation, indebtedness and excessive toil.

But whatever may have been, in May, 1926, the public judgment on the general strike, there was, at that date, it is clear, no intention on the part of the Prime Minister and his Cabinet to make such an attack on trade unionism as the present measure. Its formulation, and the decision to bring it before Parliament in the present session—not finally decided on until March last—is the outcome of a steadily rising tide of passion during the past five or six years in the Unionist (or Conservative) Party—the Liberal Party itself being not entirely unaffected by similar feeling—against the trade unions. It might be imagined that this growth of a passionate dislike of trade unionism was the result of its increasing strength. On the contrary, the growth of hatred has coincided with an immense weakening during these very years of the trade union forces. The last six years of widespread unemployment in the great staple industries—though leaving the aggregate national income still not less than in 1913—have shaken the fabric of British trade unionism, and 1926 was easily the most disastrous year in the whole two centuries of trade union history. During the past six years the British trade union movement has been falling from bad to worse. In 1926 it went back financially, numerically, and, so to speak, spiritually, more than during any previous year since 1834. It was profoundly humiliated by its

failure to help the miners by its "general strike," and by the puncturing of the inflated bladder of bombastic talk in which its Left Wing leaders had indulged in 1924-5.

What is scarcely less important is that the trade union movement, taken as a whole, has now been "bled white" of its available money. The 100 principal unions, which possessed, in the aggregate, only £5,671,984 in 1911, had increased this large sum by 1920 to no less than £14,606,228. The severe depression in trade that then set in, with its huge drain of "out of work pay" for unemployed members—on which in the last six years the unions have spent nearly a hundred million dollars (£20,000,000) of their own money—reduced this total to £9,967,507 at the end of 1924. It is doubtful whether it now stands at half that sum, practically the whole of what remains being specially earmarked for the liabilities of the various superannuation funds. The richest union, the National Union of Railwaymen, which had more than ten million dollars (£2,000,000) in April, 1926, spent the whole of it within the disastrous month of May and incurred during the following weeks a bank overdraft closely approaching five million dollars (£1,000,000). The exhaustion of the trade union accumulated funds would have mattered less if the membership had not, at the same time, so seriously fallen away as greatly to hinder reaccumulation.

The total recorded membership of the trade unions, which was only 3,138,892 as lately as 1911, rose after the war to no fewer than 8,334,362 at the end of 1920. It sank, in the slump, to 5,531,143 at the end of 1924; probably remained about stationary in the aggregate during 1925; but fell off by about 20 or even 30 per cent. during 1926, at the end of which it doubtfully reached 4,000,000. The falling off has, naturally, been most sudden among the miners. The various "county unions" of miners, constituting the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, claimed to have, at the beginning of 1926, 800,000 contributing members. It seems doubtful whether half as many are actually contributing today, though most of the others will resume membership as soon as their means allow. In some counties rival ("yellow") unions have been started, but have failed as yet to enroll many thousands of members. Many more remain, for the moment, aloof from organization of any kind. For other reasons, more directly connected with the long-continued trade depression, the aggregate trade union membership in the engineering and shipbuilding industries, which at the end of 1920 reached a high-water mark of 886,083, had sunk by the end of 1924 to no more than 527,035; and is now probably well under half a million, representing a continuous decline of something like 50 per cent. within less than seven years of trade unionism. Another staple industry, the whole range of textiles, is in much the same state as engineering and shipbuilding. The laborers' unions, organizing those whom we formerly called the unskilled, but now more correctly termed the "general" workers, counted no fewer than a million and a quarter members in 1919-20, but fell away to less than half that total by the end of 1924 and made a still more cataclysmic descent during 1926.



THE RIGHT HON. SIDNEY WEBB
The leading authority on the history of British trade unionism

It would, however, be unfair to infer that it was the waning strength and resources of the trade unions that encouraged the Unionist (Conservative) Cabinet to launch,

in April, 1927, what is regarded by the British wage-earning class as a dangerous attack on its established rights. For the explanation of this action by the Conservative Party we have to explore an interesting piece of mass-psychology. The Prime Minister, who does not conceal his dislike for the bill that is being passed into law, has admittedly been "coerced" by his Cabinet, the majority of whom have themselves been "intimidated," if not "coerced," by the Conservative Associations (the "party machine"). These Conservative Associations intensely dislike the trade unions, partly because of the resistance which such organizations present to the autocratic rule of the employer in industry, and to the current desire to reduce still further the "swollen wages of war-time"; and partly because of the widespread resentment at the success of the trade unions in maintaining the economic position of the wage-earners, as a whole, at a level not much below that of 1913 (indeed, including the benefits of the national systems of health and unemployment insurance, and old age, widows and orphans pensions; of subsidized housing schemes; of the public provision for infants and children at school; and of the war pensions, at even higher than the pre-war level); whilst the upper and middle classes, and the business world generally, feel as if they alone, are, in heavy direct taxation, "paying for the war."

More potent, however, than this combination of hate and jealousy, is the "fear-complex," from which the British possessing classes are today suffering, not so much about the trade unions, or the so-called general strike of May, 1926, or even the hideous spectre of Russian Bolshevism—all of these things contributing to the emotional perturbation—as about the continued advance, in the electoral arena, of the Labor Party, of which most of the leading trade unions are, for political purposes, a part. This Labor Party, which had in the House of Commons of 1902 only two members, rose to twenty-nine in 1906; to forty-two in 1910; to fifty-seven in 1918; to 142 in 1922; to 195 in 1923; then sank to 150 on the defeat of the Labor Government in 1924; since which it has started gaining seats at bye-elections. There seems, to the wealthier classes, a horrid possibility of this party obtaining, at the general election which cannot be deferred beyond 1929 at the latest, an actual majority of the House of Commons, and then constituting (as in 1924, but this time with power to act) an essential Socialist Government.

We now see the explanation of the inclusion in the Prime Minister's bill of two other objects, which cannot arise out of the so-called General Strike of May, 1926, namely the attempt to protect the dissentient minority of members in each trade union from being (as it supposed) forced to contribute to the support of the Labor Party; and the prohibition of the trade unions among "established civil servants" from affiliating their organizations to any political party (meaning the Labor Party). The first of these has, for years, been desired by the Conservative Party machine, which has, to this end, promoted or favored no fewer than eleven bills during the past few years, all of them hitherto smothered by the Conservative Party leaders, who, to do them justice, have felt that it would be a mean thing in a party commanding huge funds, to seek to cripple financially the "workingman's own party." The second is aimed principally at the postal and telegraph operators, who have, to the annoyance of the higher postoffice administrators, developed a great capacity for using the mechanism of Parliament for getting remedied the stream of minor grievances arising out of their conditions of employment. These 150,000 manual-working or "manipulative" public employes, paid weekly wages—whom common parlance does not denominate civil servants—have managed to get elected to the House of Commons a couple of the salaried officers of their trade unions, who naturally belong to the Labor Party, one of them, indeed, having been a very efficient Secretary to the Admiralty in Mr. Macdonald's administration. This parliamentary influence of the humbler grades of public employes—along with such increased industrial influence as they may have gained by affiliation to the Trade Union Congress—Mr. Baldwin's Cabinet now seeks to destroy.

Labor Party's Growth

It is, thus, not so much the trade unions that have terrified the majority of the property-owning class, as the continuous steady growth of the Labor Party itself. The average wealthy citizen and his wife and family do not, in fact, distinguish the one from the other, and the newspapers persistently (and with intent) confuse the two. Yet the distinction between industrial and political organization is plain enough. The Labor Party is no more the same thing as the Trades Union Congress than the Unionist, or Conservative, Party is the same thing as the (employers') Federation of British

Industries. In both cases an overwhelming majority of the constituents of the one are (along with quite other elements) constituents of the other. But in both cases their several methods and immediate aims, like their separate organizations, are distinct and different.

The Labor Party, like its two rivals, the Unionist and Liberal Parties, is effectively open to persons of either sex and of any social class, occupation or affluence who share its formulated opinions, support its officially promulgated projects of reform and apply for membership. It is by no means confined to "laborers." Its aggregate membership is, indeed, probably more "mixed"—so far as rank, class, occupation or wealth are concerned—than that of either the Unionist or the Liberal Party. The Labor Party includes in its enrolled membership (though not in large numbers) peers of ancient lineage, bishops and deans of the Established Church, heads of university colleges, hereditary landowners, substantial stockholders, bankers and financiers, manufacturers and merchants, works managers and foremen, civil servants of the highest grades as well as of the humblest, many thousands of ministers of religion and school teachers, academic professors and authors of national and international repute, along with economists and scientists, philanthropists, cooperators and manual-working wage-earners of every kind and grade. As a national political organization, the Labor Party, exactly like the Unionist and the Liberal parties, uses exclusively as its method the casting of the electoral ballot and the organization of the elected representatives in Parliament and in the councils of local government. Its current program, while including the formulated aspirations for remedial legislation of most of the wage earners' organizations, covers, like those of the Unionist and Liberal parties, the whole field of national interests. The basis of the party is defined as under:

National—To secure for the producers by hand or by brain the full fruits of their industry, and the most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible, upon the basis of the common ownership of the means of production and the best obtainable system of popular administration and control of each industry or service;

Generally to promote the Political, Social and Economic Emancipation of the People, and more particularly of those who depend directly upon their own exertions by hand or by brain for the means of life.

Inter-Dominion — To cooperate with the Labor and Socialist organizations in the Dominions and the Dependencies with a view to promoting the purposes of the Party and to take common action for the promotion of a higher standard of social and economic life for the working population of the respective countries.

International—To cooperate with the Labor and Socialist organizations in other countries and to assist in organizing a Federation of Nations for the maintenance of Freedom and Peace; for the establishment of suitable machinery for the adjustment and settlement of International Disputes by Conciliation or Judicial Arbitration, and for such International Legislation as may be practicable.

The government of the Party, and the formulation of the program in detail, together with the projects to be particularly promoted each year, is in the hands of the Party's national conference of delegates elected by all the constituent elements. The administration is entrusted to an Executive Committee, elected annually by the Conference; in conjunction with the Parliamentary Executive, elected annually by the members of the Party in the House of Commons. If among the mass of routine and of detail that any great political organization involves, we attempt to seize the salient points of the immediate program of domestic legislation to which a Labor Party Cabinet would be expected and pressed to apply itself in its first few years of office with a working majority in the House of Commons, there emerge the following as the most pressing subjects:

The chaotic state of the mining industry has to be remedied on the lines laid down by Mr. Justice Sankey's Report in 1919, of buying out the private owners of the minerals and the mines, in order to secure the transformation of the whole industry into a public service ("Nationalization").

The chronic unemployment in many great industries imperatively demands a radical reform of our provision for the hundreds of thousands of involuntarily unemployed workers, which must take such forms as work on enterprises of public utility, even though without private profit; or, in the alternative, maintenance while being further educated or trained to new employment.

The manifold deficiencies in the services of health and housing, and in the public provision for sickness, orphanage and old age, as in the whole educational service from infancy to the university, have urgently to be made good.

Money for Social Reform

But—and this is what is so fiercely resented by some who are not without sympathy with the above proposals—all this costs money, which can be raised only by such a drastic revision of national and local

taxation, on the basis (as the economists advise) of "ability to pay" (greatly increased direct taxation, supertax, death duties, &c.), as will not only enable the necessary social work to be done, but also permit of the reduction (by increased grants in aid) of the economically disastrous local taxation of industrial enterprises, and the abolition of the present onerous taxation on tea, sugar, dried fruit, matches and other commodities.

Further progress with the "nationalization"—already begun in one or other disguise—of the generation and distribution of electricity; of the railway system; of that service of remittance, provision of currency, receipt of deposits, keeping of current accounts, and indirect regulation of the aggregate volume of "credit," which we know as banking, is becoming recognized as a national need.

This, together with the incessant burden of an active cooperation for international disarmament and effectively securing the peace of the world, and of a domestic administration which, in spite of the wonderful obedience of the people, is already more extensive, more complicated and therefore more onerous than that of any other nation, will clearly take up all the time and strength of the strongest Labor Cabinet.

But has the Labor Party any chance of securing, not only a majority of the votes at the general election in 1928 or 1929, but also an effective majority in the House of Commons? Last year the prospect looked doubtful enough. The Labor Party, in campaign funds, is incredibly poor, and both its rivals are extraordinarily rich. Between them, the two older parties have on their side practically the entire newspaper press. The Labor Party seemed hampered, if not seriously weakened, by a growing divergence between the bulk of the party and its "Left Wing"; breaking out into acrid criticism, conflicts as to projects and personal abuse of chosen leaders. The Liberal Party appeared, for long, so hopelessly disorganized as to be almost out of action. Few serious students of politics could avoid the prophecy in 1925 that, whether the general election came in 1928 or 1929, Mr. Baldwin's Ministry, though with a lessened majority, would be continued in office.

For good or for evil, the political situation has been transformed by the introduction of the Trade Disputes and Trade Unions bill. Its effect is, of course, not all in one direction. Corresponding as it does with the feelings and desires not only of the more militant, but also of the bulk of the regularly enrolled members of the Unionist Party, this bill has probably solidified Mr. Baldwin's active following, and ensured the warmth of their support at the polls. On the other hand, the remarkable uprising of the British wage-earning class against the bill—a movement of passionate resentment which goes on growing in intensity—has still more solidified the Labor Party, effectively cementing those cracks and lines of cleavage between sections which invariably begin to occur in the course of prolonged political campaigning. It must be said, indeed, that the gravity of these cracks and lines of weakness has been been enormously exaggerated by the Conservative and Liberal newspapers, which have succeeded in disseminating throughout the world an entirely misleading impression that the Labor Party was in danger of imminent disruption. In fact, however, neither the personal jealousies to which the Labor Party is subject in common with all other organizations; nor the differences of opinion which, though real, are in no way fundamental, represented any serious difficulties in the party's electoral campaign. Whatever they were, Mr. Baldwin's decision to pass his latest bill has done this for the Labor Party: it has completely closed the ranks.

On the other hand, the Liberal Party is unlucky in having, just as it was composing its domestic differences under Sir Herbert Samuel, to face an issue on which it is divided—on the crucial second reading division in the House of Commons in the first week of May, 1927, the party split into three—and with regard to which it can hardly avoid taking up a middle position that attracts neither the one side nor the other. The outcome is, accordingly, that the chances of a reunited Liberal Party counting even as many as a hundred members in a House of Commons of 615 have definitely receded.

The Labor Party, which is now 155 and barely hoped to be, in the next Parliament, more than 250, now not unreasonably aspires to double its numbers when the general election comes. The prospect of Mr. Baldwin retaining a Unionist majority for more than eighteen months is accordingly no longer confidently seen by any but the most partisan of his supporters. The uprising of the wage-earning class against the Trade Disputes and Trade Union bill of 1927 thus marks more than a crisis in British trade unionism. It is also a crisis of the first importance in British political history.

The Geneva Conference on International Economic Problems

By WYTHE WILLIAMS
EUROPEAN CORRESPONDENT OF *The New York Times*

WORLD affairs were probably at their worst when the Council of the League of Nations, during its first year, in 1920, summoned an international financial conference at Brussels for an exchange of information and suggestion of cures. All European currencies, including the British, excepting perhaps only the Swiss, were then unstable. It was the first time since the war that so many nations, including the previous belligerents and including also the United States—thirty-nine in all—had come together on an equal footing. It was clear to everyone that nations like individuals must balance their budgets; that they must increase their income or decrease their expense.

That conference was the inception of the International Economic Conference which assembled at Geneva on May 4, 1927, under the auspices of the League of Nations, and which comprised forty-seven nations, almost as many as numbered in the League itself, including the three great "outsiders," the United States, Turkey and Russia.

Nothing particularly original or new appeared in the pronouncements of the Brussels conference, but nevertheless from them the process of stabilization began. That gathering represented the best financial brains of the world, and thus, whenever an argument arose in whatever Parliament, the Brussels statement of sound policy was quoted, and largely respected.

The belief that Brussels was a success induced Louis Loucheur, French financier and former Cabinet Minister, to propose a world economic parley, under the stipulation of Article 23 of the League Covenant wherein members of the League "will make provision to secure and maintain * * * equitable treatment for the commerce of all the members of the League." The League Council at once set up a preparatory commission which met in May, 1926, and which allowed itself a full year of hard work before the full conference was called to meet at Geneva in May of this year.

The personnel of this body, all leaders of both economic theory and production, acted in the wisest way possible, for figuratively they asked themselves the question: "If our Government suddenly ordered us to attend an international conference, just exactly what would we want to learn?" The result was a world-wide, year-long search, for statistics and documentations, sorted and focused into the most complete form ever known. Thus the gathering at Geneva was presented with a simultaneous photograph of trade conditions all over the world.

The problem at Geneva, however, was not so simple as that of Brussels. In finance there was one generally accepted doctrine. Even the Socialists and the capitalists had similar ideas. Russia and France were quite able to understand each other. The economic problem presented great differences of thought and opinion, so that the first work at the Geneva gathering was to discover the main points upon which the delegates could agree. All sorts of people were there, with all sorts of interests. At almost the beginning it was decided that whenever a real argument developed the question involved had better be temporarily shelved. Yet there emerged two big problems upon which conference statements, or pronunciamentos, were possible, namely those of cartelization and trade barriers.

The conference at its opening plenary session in John Calvin's Hall of Reformation divided itself into three main commissions: Number one, labeled industry, which took the cartelization problem in hand; number two, labeled commerce, to study the trade barriers, and number three, to study the problems of agriculture.

The Industry Commission, the American member of which was Henry M. Robinson, head of the delegation, President of the First National Bank of Los Angeles and one of the makers of the Dawes plan, clarified the cartelization problem in its early discussions. It found that none of the members believed cartelization to be the panacea that would cure Europe's ills. The American delegates, on arrival at Geneva, had fears, and had come armed. Mr. Robinson soon was able to report to his colleagues on

the other commissions, in a surprised fashion, that he found many Europeans just as fearful of cartels as himself. No one spoke altogether in favor of cartelization, while some were openly against it. He was able to put the ammunition back in its place.

Cartels are analogous to American trusts; the main difference being that they do not control the complete organization but rather the market only. Those in favor of cartels use the same arguments that brought about trusts. But, it was admitted at Geneva, the United States is big enough to support trusts, whereas European units are too small to support them, and therefore must resort to international agreements. The American way was domestic evolution. The European way must be international.

Benefits of Trusts

After years of the American experiment it has been shown that some trusts are good trusts. The prices have not harmed the consumer; the labor standards have been maintained, and at the same time the trusts have been able to show a profit for themselves. But this has applied to only a few commodities, like pig iron and oil, the heavy products, in which standardization is possible. Such a thing as a millinery trust would not be so good. Hats cannot be made in mass production. The element of taste is too strong. The European attitude in regard to trade combinations has become about the same as that of the United States —therefore the sudden popularity of this word "cartels." International understandings were known before the war, as for example that of the General Electric Company with the similarly named organization in Germany and the Houston Thompson interests of France, for the division of markets. But now, according to a study made by a Sorbonne professor for the International Chamber of Commerce, there are twenty European cartelizations, in all of which American business is participating. Judging from this, the conference delegates assumed that the cream of cartelization had already been skimmed and that no resolution by the conference would either stimulate or retard the movement.

The conference for this reason laid down no conclusions of principle on the subject, but recognized the growth of agreements which might be either good or bad according to the spirit in which they were constituted and operated. Whether a cartel is good or bad lies, as pointed out in the speech of Mr. Robinson, in the wisdom of direction. The idea with which the American delegation departed from New York, namely that Europe intended to present a solid economic lineup against the United States, turned out to be incorrect. Europe might like to do that very thing, but the time is not ripe. Europe is not yet prepared for any such move.

Probably the biggest question before the conference, certainly the most vexatious and intricate, was that of trade barriers, dealt with by the commerce commission, of which the American members were Norman Davis, former Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, and Julius Kline of the United States Department of Commerce.

The present European tariff muddle is an outgrowth of the war and of war psychology. During the period of inflation many nations were threatened by dumping. Definite embargoes were introduced. Then came the special case for a particular assortment of goods, followed by the special license to import, all this helping the complication of trade. Frontier facilities, passports, questions of held-up shipments, the embargoes of some States against luxuries, in many cases justified in the abnormal situation created by war, new vested interests growing like mushrooms, and, after the fashion of bootleggers, behind the protective walls—these were some of the multitude of subjects with which the commerce commission dealt.

The height of the European tariff tide is no worse than its sudden overnight changes. Nowadays the long-time contracts of the pre-war epoch are unknown, and merchants are forced to quote f. o. b. prices. Karl Gustav Cassel, delegate from Sweden, drafted a short treaty wherein all contracting parties agree to give due notice of any contemplated changes in tariff walls, which shall be then maintained for a stipulated period. The only objection heard to this plan was the fact that currencies were not yet finally stabilized. An example of possible trouble was cited in the Swiss-German pourparlers of a year ago, wherein both agreed to abolish one-half their war restriction at once, and the remainder within three years. Then the French and Belgian francs began to fall, and upset calculations, which would continue to be the case so long as there is danger of a currency slump.

The so-called "key industries" present still another problem. The dye situation in Great Britain is a case in point. There the army chiefs have bullied the nation into an uneconomical enterprise, because of national security. Again, Germany during the war suffered so much from the lack of animal

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HENRY M. ROBINSON
Head of the American delegation to the International Economic Conference

fats that the pig has since been cultivated as a means of national defense. The same idea has been rampant in Central Europe, in countries which have recently achieved political independence. This is heady wine. These nations also want economic independence. And so impossible tariff barriers.

A new scheme has developed called "bargaining tariffs" or "fighting tariffs." For instance, Czechoslovakia and Hungary think of signing a customs treaty. Then both tariffs are made higher for the purpose of bargaining. In many nations tariffs have been voted with the idea that they are too high, but to leave a bargaining margin, in some cases as high as 50 per cent. Sometimes the bargain has not been made, but the tariff remains. Months have passed, and new industries have grown, protected by this wall, and prices have risen all along the line.

Discrimination against foreigners, as it came before the conference, was unknown in the pre-war epoch. This is due largely to unemployment. For example, a Swiss *permis de séjour* is refused to a French gardener. Similar situations exist in both Germany and Great Britain, applying not only to laborers but to professional and business men.

In view of all these conditions delegates readily admitted the abnormal situation created by trade barriers, declaring that it was the great impediment to the re-establishment of prosperity in Europe. The Old World tried to lift itself by the bootstraps, found that it was impossible, and that the net result of the efforts has been loss instead of gain.

Defense of Tariff Walls

In the details, and in the practice of preserving the tariff wall, every nation, naturally, has defended its own acts as being something "special." The United States has expressed itself as against Government intervention in private business, but in the case of the United States Shipping Board the Government has acted as have other Governments, and has cheerfully passed the deficit on to Congress. Its agents have been guilty of every unfair practice that is condemned in others. The American delegates admitted it, but were forced to claim extenuating circumstances. We would like to sell the ships, but have been unable to do so. It is an embarrassment similar to those of other Governments—a "peculiar situation."

The Commerce Commission finally made a number of definite recommendations, which, like those of the reports and resolutions of the other commissions, received the unanimous adoption of the full conference. The resolutions of the Commerce Commission under the general heading of "Liberty and Trading"—an expression not to be confounded with "free trade," but embracing all measures calculated to liberate international commerce from artificial restrictions and obstructions—expressed the hope that the diplomatic conference convened at Geneva for November next by the League might result in the real removal of import and export prohibitions. It condemned the granting of special immunities and privileges to State-controlled undertakings which enables them to compete unfairly with private enterprise. Lastly, under this head, the conference recommended the preparation of a convention on economic and fiscal treatment of foreigners and foreign enterprises.

The report of the industry commission was not so definite. It enumerated in detail the aims of rationalization and declared

that it must be applied with care so as not to injure the legitimate interests of the workers. It therefore recommended that Governments, public institutions, trade organizations and public opinion should promote the investigation of best methods of rationalization, scientific management and standardization, giving special attention to measures calculated to promote social welfare. And as already mentioned, the conference was inconclusive on the subject of cartels.

Perhaps the most important outcome of the agriculture commission was the realization of the essential interdependence of agriculture, industry and commerce; that in the words of the report "it would be vain to hope that one could enjoy lasting prosperity independently of the others." The conference considered that the first measures for the improvement of agriculture should be taken by agriculturists themselves—by the general adoption of better technical methods, more scientific organization, and extension of the international campaign against diseases of plants and animals and by cooperation and the organization of credit institutions. With regard to the cooperative movement the conference desired to emphasize the importance of direct relations between producers' and consumers' associations. The conference stressed the desirability of removing hindrances to the free flow of agricultural products in so far as their removal does not endanger the vital interests of the nations or their workers.

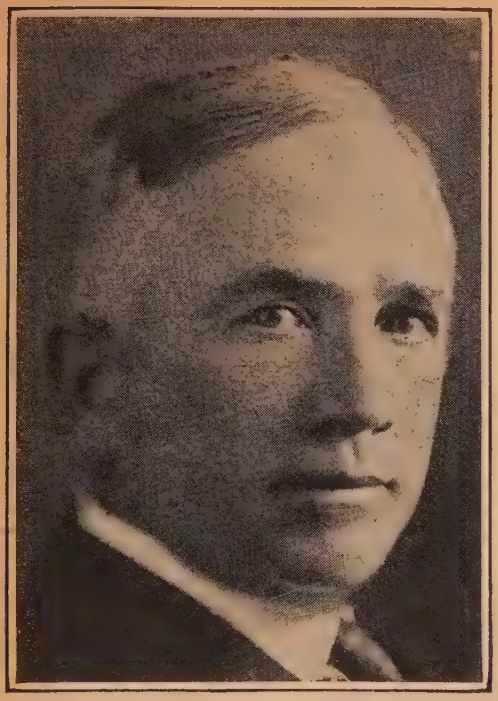
Yet it should be pointed out that the discussions in the agriculture commission showed plainly that the farmers' point of view remains parochial, and that the village church spire is the most distant point on his horizon. In other words agriculture has not yet begun to be really international. The American delegate was Alonzo E. Taylor, Director of Food Research of Stanford University.

The conference fully recognized that one of the great dangers remaining before economic reconstruction can be assured is the internal state of France, about which so many questions remained unanswered. The main ones are: Does France intend to borrow or settle? Does this generation or the next intend to pay the debt? If this generation is to pay, then a period of inflation is quite possible, which will prove expensive to the entire world. For the French Chamber of Deputies the task of funding the internal debt, and slicing it in half seems politically almost impossible. The process of inflation is easier and post-war France has not yet had the delectable experience of a revolution.

By virtue of the fact that delegates of Soviet Russia sat in the conference hall, a resolution was passed admitting the fact of the communistic economic system and expressing the hope that the two world systems might be able to cooperate harmoniously. The Soviet delegation, which many feared might prove to be a real menace to the success of the conference, proved quite mild and willing to discuss the situation amicably. Oblensky-Ossinsky, the head of the delegation, was eloquent in his reply to the British delegate Layton, who challenged him to prove the Soviet method capable of bringing trade back to a pre-war state. The Russian explained graphically that his country was restoring a production that had been ruined by war, by the terrible famine of 1920, and also by foreign interference. "This production," he said, "is now back practically to a pre-war basis. In agriculture we are better off now than in 1913, but we have nothing like as much export. We are proud of our record, because the old pre-war record was not sound. Under the Empire we took from our own needs, and our Russian people went short in order to have a proper Czarist trade balance abroad. The frequent consequence of our grain export was famine. Now our people consume more—they eat more. We are convinced that our system will survive, even without assistance—credits. But our complete economic recovery will be slow, especially if you continue to boycott. If you want to bring back our foreign trade quickly then give us credit, and remember that Soviet Russia has scrupulously taken care of every foreign obligation that it has made."

Attitude Toward Russians

When the Russians arrived in Geneva they were shunned, and consequently were lonely. Little by little they formed contacts with the other delegates, and the general opinion was that they were "regular sort of folk." They were frankly far more interested in credits than in political recognition, and therefore they behaved just as well at Geneva as Moscow opinion would allow. Some of their committee speeches sounded violently communistic, for home consumption, all of which was tacitly accepted by the remainder of the conference. The Russian delegation had no authority to do more than sit in the economic councils of the other nations represented, but needless to say the Geneva



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NORMAN H. DAVIS

Former Assistant Secretary of the Treasury and Under-Secretary of State, one of the American delegates to the International Economic Conference

meeting ground was a fertile field for the planting of future relations. The visit was made easier in that the old pre-war debts, especially those with France, had official recognition, and simultaneous negotiations were going on in Paris, with a view to settling, somehow, these tremendous obligations, and obtaining new credit in exchange.

The British delegation, headed by Sir Arthur Balfour, was largely of the opinion, after the plenary sessions, when the Russians emitted much communistic doctrine, including their eleven new commandments for world salvation, that they needed some sort of political condemnation. To their surprise, and perhaps to the surprise of the conference, the British received no support from the delegates of the United States, and the idea was dropped. In fact, the American delegation did not come to Geneva with axes to grind or expecting to get anything. Chairman Robinson's opening speech, offering Europe the benefit of American experience in re-establishing post-war prosperity, was listened to with profound respect and admiration. And the Americans, fearful at first, gradually became convinced that the European trade enemy intended to be a friendly enemy, at least for a long time to come.

Apart from the resolutions already mentioned, the first part of the report, as it emerged from the huge mass of conference documentation and speeches, presented a general picture of the world's present economic situation. It incorporated a resolution stating the unanimous conviction that the maintenance of world peace depends largely upon the principles on which the economic policies of nations are formed and executed; that the Governments and peoples of all countries should constantly take counsel together as to this aspect of the economic problem; and that a recognized body of principles should be established, designed to eliminate friction and misunderstanding. The object of the conference, as this original resolution made clear, was twofold. It was concerned not only with the prosperity but with the peace of the world. This was

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not only a special item on the agenda, but a point of view which the conference insisted always should be borne in mind, throughout all discussions—that economic conflicts and divergence of economic interests are perhaps the most serious and the most permanent of all dangers.

The conference also passed several resolutions not falling under special chapters, and again, as did the Brussels conference of 1920, called attention to the heavy burden of armaments which reacts upon the whole economic life of the State, and lowers the standard of living, and expressed the hope of immediate armament limitation.

No steps were taken by the conference to perpetuate its own existence. It simply adjourned, passing all questions as to whether it shall be reconvoked to the organization which created it—the League of Nations. The final report, containing the resolutions adopted unanimously will now be presented to the Parliaments and peoples of all nations represented, through the medium of the League.

When the conference adjourned on May 24, Roland Boyden, American member of the International Chamber of Commerce, made the following declaration: "The holding of this conference is in itself a practical result. When men of so many different nationalities meet and talk and eat together for three weeks, and then join in a series of resolutions upon economic and business matters, we have accomplished a practical step in advance along the road of international cooperation. The next practical step is to take measures to give practical effect to our resolutions, in legislation and administrative action."

In spite of the variety of the questions raised throughout all sessions, the diversity of theories and the legitimate national sentiments of all those who took part in the discussions, one important and extremely encouraging fact emerged, and became increasingly manifest as the work advanced. This fact was the unanimous desire of the members of the conference to make sure that it should in some way mark the beginning of a new era during which international commerce would successfully overcome all obstacles in its path, resume an upward movement which would be at once a sign of the world's economic health and a necessary condition for the development of civilization. Such feeling was the more remarkable in that the conference was made up of producers, employers, workers, farmers, traders, financiers, economists and consumers. Although each and all had special interests to defend, it was constantly evident that they considered themselves members of the same community, working, toiling and directing their efforts to a common end.

GENEVA, SWITZERLAND.

Important Documents of the Economic Conference

By BURR PRICE

FORMER EUROPEAN CORRESPONDENT OF *The New York Herald*

AS a result of the labors of the Preparatory Committee, the delegates to the International Economic Conference had at their disposal a series of documents of a breadth and scope perhaps never before prepared for an international assemblage. The material included in this documentation was specified by the Preparatory Committee, named by the League of Nations Council to advise it concerning the agenda, the date and the character of the conference. The members of the Preparatory Committee were men who had special knowledge of, or special interest in, some of the important problems of international economic relations. Professor Allyn A. Young of Harvard, David F. Houston, former Secretary of the Treasury, and Arthur W. Gilbert, Massachusetts State Commissioner of Agriculture, served on the committee as individuals and not as representatives of the United States Government.

At its first meeting, in April, 1926, the Preparatory Committee drew up a complete list of all material necessary to the accomplishment of the task in hand. Within six months the work of documentation was finished, thanks "to the wholehearted collaboration of the Secretariat, the Interna-

tional Labor Office, the International Institute of Agriculture, the International Chamber of Commerce, various governmental departments and their special experts of high authority." In the work of statistical compilation, also, a large number of industrial organizations of different countries spared "neither time nor trouble furnishing contributions on their respective industries which are as remarkable for their wide range as for their precision."

The first part of the agenda was "The World Economic Position," and one of the first documents published under this heading was a *Memorandum on Production and Trade of the World*, based on a draft which was circulated by the Preparatory Committee and which attempted to answer the three following questions:

1. What changes have taken place in the population of the world since 1913 and in the territorial distribution of that population?
2. What changes have taken place in the production of basic raw materials and foodstuffs in the world as a whole and in the main divisions into which the world naturally falls?
3. What changes have taken place in the quantum of world trade and in its distribution?

The memorandum sets forth the following general conclusions, certain of which are interpreted and qualified in later sections:

(a) The population and trade of the world in 1925 were both about 5 per cent. greater than in 1913.

(b) The production of foodstuffs (exclusive of China) and raw materials has increased more rapidly than the population of the world and is now probably 16 to 18 per cent. in excess of what it was in 1913. The discrepancy between the production and population figures for the world as a whole, however, is probably less than here indicated, as cereal production in China has been omitted. The population of the world apart from China has grown since 1913 by some 7 per cent.

(c) All the European indices are well below those of the world as a whole. The population of Europe has only increased by a little more than 1 per cent.; her production of raw materials and foodstuffs, thanks largely to a favorable harvest, was in 1925 4 to 5 per cent. above the pre-war level and her trade probably some 10 per cent. below that level.

(d) In 1924 the production of raw materials and foodstuffs in Eastern and Central Europe, including Russia, still fell short of the pre-war level by nearly one-fifth, while the trade of these countries did not reach 66 per cent. of what it had been, despite the increase in the number of trading countries. During 1925, however, Central Europe made more rapid progress than did the rest of the Continent; her trade is now about three-quarters of what it was and her production index just over par.

(e) The population of the Western and maritime nations of Europe is now about 5 per cent. greater than in 1913. The production index of this group of countries, inclusive of cereals and foodstuffs, was in 1925 about 7 per cent. greater than before the war, and exclusive of cereals and foodstuffs scarcely up to the population figures, while trade just failed to reach the pre-war level.

(f) The population of North America is almost one-fifth, that of South America perhaps slightly over one-fifth and that of Oceania over one-sixth greater than in 1913. The growth of population in other parts of the world has been much less rapid.

(g) On the other hand, the trade of Asia has increased almost, though not quite, as fast as that of North America. In both these continents it was over one-third and in Oceania just under one-third greater than in 1913, while in Africa and South America it has shown no increase.

(h) The production of raw materials and foodstuffs in North America, Asia and Oceania is now about one-quarter above the pre-war amount; in South America and Africa (gold excluded) it is over one-third greater, and in Central America the increase has been still higher. (As fruit is omitted from the production statistics, the trade figures for Central America are a better index than those for production. In comparing the indices of production and trade it must be remembered that the harvest of one year is likely to affect the trade statistics for the next.)

The production indices must not be accepted as measuring industrial progress. It is estimated that the net value added to manufacture—that is, the real service performed by the manufacturing process—in the United States of America, after making all allowances for price changes, was probably not far short of 60 per cent. greater in 1923 than in 1914. During the same period the number of wage earners increased by only 27 per cent.

The rapid development in the production and exchange of commodities in America, Asia and elsewhere has resulted in important changes in the relative shares contributed by the different groups of countries to the world totals. Thus Europe's share in the trade of the world has fallen by nearly 15 per cent.; the shares of North America, Asia and Oceania have risen by some 30 per cent. On the other hand, the peoples of America and Oceania, where the number of inhabitants has increased the most, are still so small a fraction of the total population of the world that the changes which have taken place in the territorial distribution of that total are quite negligible.

Such are the broad general results to which this analysis has led. They are based on statistics which are in some cases defective and of doubtful comparability, seldom so comprehensive or so exact as to render it possible to draw conclusions from any single series of figures of mathematical accuracy or incontrovertible finality. For this reason importance should be attached not so much to the absolute magnitude of this or that figure as to the direction toward which the whole mass of accumulated data tends to point.

Another important document was the report of the Trade Barriers Committee of the International Chamber of Commerce, which included representatives of twenty-four countries and was headed by Etienne Clémentel, founder-President of the Inter-

national Chamber of Commerce. Americans on the committee were Roland W. Boyden of Boston, former unofficial American observer on the Reparations Commission; Edward A. Filene of Boston, Frederick I. Kent, Vice President of the Bankers' Trust Company of New York; Julius H. Barnes, ex-President of the United States Chamber of Commerce; Walker D. Hines, former Director General of American Railroads; F. Edson White, President of Armour & Co., Chicago, and John N. Willys, President of the Willys-Overland Company, Toledo. This report advocated complete abolition of compulsory passport visas, without affecting the existing systems of police supervision of aliens, the deportation of undesirables or the regulation of immigration and emigration.

Freedom for Business.

"Manufacturers, merchants and traders established in business or industry in accordance with the laws of that country," the Chamber's committee declared, shall "be freely permitted to do business in all other contracting countries, especially to have free recourse to law; to sell or buy all goods; take, execute and deliver all orders, in so far as, even in the case of nationals, such activities are not subject to concessions by the laws of the country in question; all without need of special * * * permission from the authorities of the country in which such business is done, so long as the manufacturers, merchants and traders above referred to do not set up establishments in the said foreign country."

The report recommended that such manufacturers and others should have the right to advertise in the same manner as nationals without paying taxes on advertising higher than the assessments against nationals; complete freedom in the matter of opening branches and in establishing subsidiary companies was recommended, together with the right to acquire real estate and movable property.

One of the most interesting monographs was that prepared by Professor Bowley, the English statistician, and entitled *Estimates of Working Population in Certain Countries in* 1931 *and* 1941. In preparing his statistics for the United States the author assumes that no wars will have taken toll from the American populace between now and 1941. By that time, he estimates, the working people between 15 and 70 years of age will have increased to 89,863,000. The 1920 census showed 69,085.000. In his figures for other countries Professor Bowley assumes that the death rate will not be bettered during the next fourteen years, with the exception of Sweden. Accordingly, he makes the following estimates of growth in working populations in 1941 as compared with 1920: Great Britain, 34,179,000, against 29,353,000; Sweden, 4,690,000, against 3,859,000; Denmark, 2,699,900, against 2,096,100; Belgium, 5,777,600, against 5,267,100; France, 27,583,000, against 27,823,000; Germany, 47,360,000, against 39,780,000; Switzerland, 3,102,400, against 2,663,000; Australia, 4,688,000, against 3,561,000; Japan (excluding Korea, Formosa and Sakhalin), 43,588,000, against 34,946,000.

The percentages of increase work out about as follows: For the United States the working population will have increased about 50 per cent., that of Australia about 60 per cent., that of Sweden 35 per cent., in Japan 32 per cent., in Italy, 38 per cent., in Great Britain 26 per cent., in Switzerland 26 per cent. and in Belgium 18 per cent. But in France the workers will have decreased, the estimate indicates. In the case of Germany, Professor Bowley expects that, while the working population aged from 15 to 70 actually in the territories now administered by Germany will have increased 34 per cent., this population in 1941 will be only 15 per cent. greater than the number of workers in the same age group in 1910 on German territory as it then was.

Another of the brochures prepared by individual experts is *Methods of Economic Rapprochement*, by Professor Eugene Grossman of the Department of Political Economy at Zurich University. The author draws a parallel between economic rapprochement by political methods and international economic rapprochement by agreements among producers. After an analysis of the virtues and faults of the cartel system, he finds in it more advantages than disadvantages, and concludes his memorandum with the following recommendations:

1. The systematic constitution of as large a number as possible of international cartels—for agriculture, the International Institute at Rome; for industry, the International Chamber of Commerce, and the League Economic Committee might deal with these questions.

2. The fixing by the cartels of the shares of the industries of each country and the organization of specialized production.

3. Reduction of customs dues in countries where cartels work by means of a central fund organized by industrial concerns in order to refund to exporters the cost of freight and customs on all international consignments authorized by the cartel. The central fund would procure the necessary funds by subscriptions levied on the national cartels.

The Question of the Cancellation of the War Debts

Two Opposing Views

I. The Justice of the American Settlements

By CONRAD CLOTHIER LESLEY*
ENGINEER, STUDENT OF INTERNATIONAL QUESTIONS

Discussion of the refunding agreements reached by the American World War Foreign Debt Commission with thirteen debtor nations during the past four years was renewed on May 2 by the British Government's note to Secretary of State Kellogg. The revival of a subject considered closed by the American Government is due to the plea made last December by the Department of Political Science of Columbia University for reconsideration and revision of the debt settlements. A similar statement, endorsing this plea, was made by President Hibben and the Faculty of Princeton University in March. Secretary Mellon's reply to the Princeton comment on March 15, made in the nature of an open letter, which caused considerable discussion on both sides of the Atlantic, was answered a month and a half later by the British Government's note. Secretary Kellogg acknowledged its receipt on May 4 and stated that his Government considered the Hibben-Mellon correspondence "as a purely domestic discussion" and did "not desire to engage in any formal diplomatic exchanges upon the subject." Secretary Mellon replied to the Churchill note by another open letter as a statement of the Secretary of the Treasury. These two statements are printed in full. Following them is a diagnosis and explanation of the indicated contradictions, as well as a frank and challenging plea against cancellation written by a careful student of the question, whose facts and figures were obtained from United States official sources. Following this is a posthumous cancellation plea, with an introduction by Professor James T. Shotwell of the Carnegie Foundation for International Peace.

THE two official statements by eminent financiers and Cabinet members of the two English-speaking nations are to all appearances contradictory, but both are accurate in their citation of facts. The chief contentions are caused, as Mr. Mellon points out, by divergent methods of bookkeeping, by the impossibility, and inexpediency in the British case, of including all pertinent facts involved in a discussion of interallied debts within the limits of a few thousand words.

Victorious nations, from time immemorial, have placed the burden of war expenses upon defeated adversaries[1] by appropriating wealth and lands or by levying indemnities. The United States, though a victor, is paying for its stupendous war expenditures[2] by self-imposed taxation in the manner so creditably undertaken by both the Democratic and Republican régimes during and since the war, without recourse to indemnities or appropriations from its defeated foe[3], while Allied nations acquired

*Mr. Lesley's facts and figures were obtained from a study of the official records at Washington and in consultation with U. S. official authorities.—Editor CURRENT HISTORY.

[1]As in the Franco-Prussian War.

[2]A balance sheet of American war costs shows that the Government of the United States spent on a warrant basis from June 30, 1916, to June 30, 1925, $52,000,000,000 in excess of normal peacetime expenditures, allowing for average increases in cost of Government. It is also spending $500,000,000 annually for veteran care, which is equivalent to a capital loss of an additional $10,000,000,000.

[3]The United States will only receive indemnities for losses incurred while a neutral, such as damages for lives lost on the Lusitania, claims passed by the American-German Mixed Claims Commission, and small annual payments through the Dawes Plan as reimbursement for costs of our Army of Occupation after the Armistice, which took over a sector around Coblenz at the request of the Allies.

valuable property additions, German shipping and many contract and treaty rights formerly possessed by Germany, and are receiving reparations in increasing annual amounts with which partially to reimburse themselves.

Great Britain, France and Italy, during the war and even after the Armistice, fully expected to recover their entire war costs from the Central Powers, but they finally acknowledged this to be impossible. In order partially to relieve their respective countries from the portion Germany was unable to pay, Allied diplomats searched diligently for some method to reduce their debts. They could not repudiate internal bonds, for citizen owners would immediately eject them from office; so they looked across the Atlantic to the one country among the victors that had paid its way during the war, saw that it was the chief creditor nation and endeavored to shift the major portion of their external debts on the United States.

In order that this manoeuvre would not be tainted by a suspicion of repudiation of legally contracted debts, willingly loaned by a friendly nation, Lloyd George, Austen Chamberlain, Lord Balfour and other officials suggested a general cancellation of interallied war debts "along broad lines" to President W'lson and Secretaries of the Treasury Glass, Houston and Mellon from 1919 until 1922. Since then many semi-official innuendoes, culminating in the recent Churchill note, having the same purpose and originating from identical sources, were made and received universal publicity. They suggested that, if we canceled the debts of our Associates, Great Britain, France, Italy and the others would do likewise.

This "Balfour principle" had a sound of mutual benevolence until analyzed, when it appeared that the rôle assigned to the United States would be more than magnanimous. Italy would cancel her small advances to her little allies; France would forgive the larger loans to her little allies and Italy; Great Britain would annul her larger advances to her little allies, Italy and France—if the United States would cancel her much greater advances to Great Britain, France, Italy and all the others. These canceled amounts would then be subtracted from German reparations payable to our debtors. But there was no nation to reciprocate with us, for American citizens had supplied the money required by their Government for its war necessities at home and requirements from all Allied and neutral countries, as well as for Allied requirements in the United States and a considerable portion of their requisites from neutrals[4].

Had this "principle" been accepted, the belligerents, ourselves excepted, would have been relieved of the major portion of the inevitable pecuniary toll of war—their war; while the United States would have been burdened with the external obligations incurred by the Allies[5], a considerable part of German reparations, together with its own vast war debts. The remaining payments due to them from Germany would, most probably, have been covered by a German bond issue sold chiefly to Americans by instalments, as was done with the German Loan for Reconstruction, and the proceeds turned over to our former associates to liquidate their internal debts.

The Dawes Plan would become "a scrap of paper" and discarded. Europe would receive this immense tribute from the United States—more than she ever dreamed of exacting from the fabled Spanish Main, the golden Indies or the teeming Orient. Then should Germany default on reparation bonds, our Associates would not be likely to interfere in our behalf. The only way this country could collect, if an economic boycott proved unsuccessful, would be to again declare war on Germany, although the World War was to end war.

Our Government naturally returned this "generous appearing offer" to its originators. After rejection of this proposal, Great Britain refunded her American debt and endeavored to collect war advances made to her Allies. As a large volume of these claims were relatively valueless, Great Britain stated she would only collect enough from her Allies to bring her receipts from Germany equal to her payments to this country.[6] This policy created a most favor-

[4]The United States supplied dollars for one-half of Italian and over one-half French purchases in neutral countries.

[5]Great Britain would actually have gained $1,862,350,000 by the Balfour principle (present value of recoverable debts due to Great Britain from all its allies of $1,930,000,000 subtracted from present value of the British refunded debt to the United States of $3,792,350,000). The United States would have lost $6,886,000,000, present value of the debt refunding agreement of thirteen nations to the United States.

[6]Mr. Balfour's statement that moneys borrowed by Great Britain from the United States were reloaned to her Allies has been proved to be fiction. It was only uttered for the purpose of misleading European nations and prejudicing them against the United States. Not one dollar loaned to Great Britain was utilized by her to support her Allies. This is amply proved by the accounting of the Treasury, whereby every item purchased by Great Britain in the United States during the war and transferred to another Ally was in turn credited to Great Britain's account and debited to the country benefited.

able attitude toward Great Britain by her Allies but engendered European enmity toward America. Citizens of our former Associates have only been told as much about the debts as their politicians deemed wise, hence their recent aversion toward Americans has been caused by lack of information and not by inherent ill will.

Although our Government would not consider the cancellation plan proposed by the British for obvious reasons, it would have examined and probably acted favorably upon one based on equality. On such a basis the costs of all goods and services supplied by the Allied and Associated nations would have been pooled, as they were intended for the mutual benefit of all nations concerned. The United States could forgive such debts owing to her in that category, but each of the Allies would have had to repay us more than they have agreed to do under the debt settlements.[7]

To explain the apparent differences in the statements of the two finance ministers it is necessary to give an account of the origin of the loans. As questions under dispute arise in the discussion, they will be dealt with in order.

In the Spring of 1917 Allied finances were in a more precarious position than those of the Germans. The latter, being the aggressors, firmly entrenched on foreign territory, seized everything of value behind their lines in Belgium, Northern France, Poland, Rumania and Serbia. They "paid" the rightful owners for these "requisitions" with worthless paper currency.[8] The Central Powers relied more upon currency issues at home and in the occupied territories for revenue than upon taxation. Their intention was to take a regal path to victory, maintain content at home and in the occupied lands, annex the latter at the termination of hostilities and shoulder war debts on their opponents in the form of indemnities. They were unable to import merchandise because of the British naval blockade except from adjacent countries. What was needed they produced at home or made substitutes for them or went without them altogether. The Allies, in control of the seas, imported immense quantities of goods from their colonies, from each other and from neutral countries. For goods from the neutrals they had to pay cash. During the first three years, Allied reserves in neutral countries were drawn upon, loans were secured from neutrals and they began to sell some of their foreign investments and pawn their gold reserves. The international medium of exchange, the great pound sterling, though weakened by the strain, had been able till then to support the weaker Allied currencies. At this critical moment from a financial and man-power viewpoint the United States entered the war.

The Allies' Need of Dollars

The Allies immediately dispatched commissions to America—not to supervise mobilization of our men and resources from their experience of three years, but to procure loans from the Treasury. They wanted dollars to redeem their pawned investments and gold reserves; to repay borrowings from colonies and neutrals; to pay for their vast purchases of grain, oil, timber, cotton, steel, munitions, meat, copper, tobacco and zinc from the United States.

Two weeks and a half after we declared war Congress passed the Liberty Loan act, which was "for the purpose of more effectually providing for the national security and defense and prosecuting the war by establishing credits in the United States for foreign Governments (the Allies)." Our Treasury was empowered to sell Liberty bonds and invest up to ten billions so received in bonds of the Allied Governments at par! "The cash advanced and credits granted," stated Secretary Mellon, "represented money borrowed by the United States from its citizens. These sums must be repaid them, with interest."[9] The Allies were not securing sufficient funds from taxation and by the sale of war bonds to meet expenses at home and abroad and they were disinclined to sell their foreign investments. Americans therefore supplied money at cost to the Allied Governments through our Treasury. The Allies gave I. O. U.'s for the amounts borrowed. These temporary bonds of indebtedness were just as binding as permanent bonds, and were to have the same rates of in-

[7] Great Britain would have to repay $2,500,000,000; our cash expenditures in the Empire: plus $500,000,000 borrowed after the Armistice: plus $353,000,000 borrowed to repay war debts contracted before we were a combatant: plus hundreds of millions for other than war purposes. France would have to repay $1,750,000,000; our cash expenditures in France; plus $1,000,000,000 borrowed after the Armistice: plus $290,000,000 borrowed to repay war debts contracted before we were a combatant; plus hundreds of millions used for other than war purposes. Great Britain would owe us considerably more than the value of her funded debt, while France would owe us more than twice the value of the French debt agreement.

[8] In Belgium alone, this "money" forced upon the people amounted to $1,200,000,000, while in Poland it totaled over a quarter of a billion dollars.

[9] We actually advanced $10,084,249,000.

terest and maturity as our Liberty bonds. This stipulation was to protect both parties—our Associates, so they would be charged no more than it cost our Treasury to provide the money; our Treasury, so interest and principal payments from our Associates would meet the same payments due to purchasers of Liberty bonds allotted for Allied uses.

Europe's Financial Disorder

We lived up to the letter of the pact, but as our debtors claimed they were unable to meet interest payments when due, our Treasury, at their instance, advanced more dollars with which to pay till after the Armistice. Reviewing conditions when we finally closed our vaults to additional advances, Secretary Mellon said: "The Treasury held obligations of some twenty nations, in general, payable on demand with interest at 5 per cent. per annum. The world was in a state of financial disorder. No nation could have paid its debt had we demanded it. Most could not even pay interest."

Five days after we entered the war, the French Premier cabled our Government through our Ambassador at Paris: "The Premier [Ribot] personally expressed the hope to me that no resolution would be introduced or debated in Congress tending to make a gift to the Government of France from the United States." On the following day a cable from Ambassador Jusserand to Ribot, appearing in *Le Matin* translates: "I have just had an interview with the Secretary of the Treasury regarding our financial needs. The amount of $133,000,000 a month drew no observation from him; the amount of $218,000,000, which would be reached by adding our expenses outside the United States, appeared high to him, but it is not impossible that we shall get it. The rate of interest will be the same that the Government of the United States will be able to obtain * * * with a guarantee that if subsequent loans are made at a higher rate, the same interest will be paid to the holders of the first loan. This interest, by the terms of the law, shall be paid by all the Allied countries concerned. As to the terms of repayment, I mentioned that of fifteen years. Mr. McAdoo said he had no objection to that." Premier Ribot thought a longer period could be obtained, so five days later his Ambassador cabled: "I shall do my best in the matter of repayment in twenty-five years." Still the Premier was not satisfied and two days later cabled: "The Minister of Finance [Thierry] insists that the term of amortization shall now be thirty years."

"It is clear," stated Secretary Mellon, "that when the advances were made to our Allies, they knew they were loans, not gifts. From the time of the original advances to date no responsible authority in the United States Government has suggested cancellation, and each of our debtor nations, except Russia, has recognized the debt created by the advances and has offered to pay." The above quoted official French correspondence would not lead any one to believe that subsidies and gifts were intended; but loans on which interest would be paid by the borrowers, loans to be repaid in thirty years. Allied Governments were eager to receive unlimited credits at that time, not gifts.[11] Their currencies would now be saved from sinking to obscurity by the strength of the dollar. Dollars they could have at what they cost the American Treasury—and dollars they got for every need without limit.[12]

Each Allied nation had financed its Allies' requirements within its own borders before we entered the conflict. In addition, Great Britain supplied such neutral currencies required by herself and her Allies for purchases in neutral countries when the latter were unable to do so themselves. This reciprocity of currencies was for the mutual benefit of all and contributed to their common victory, as it reduced the frenzy of buying and selling each other's currencies to a minimum. At the conclusion of hostilities, it was expected that each nation would balance accounts with its Allies.

But such mutually beneficial treatment was not accorded us, as explained by both Mr. Churchill and Mr. Mellon. Our Treasury advanced dollars, as required, for Allied purchases in this country after we became a combatant—before then it was not our war. It also was obliged, contrary to the

[11]The Allied Governments did not want to entertain even the suggestion that the United States was their partner in the war. We had no secret treaties with any of them, but entered the war because of the insolent and ruthless "sink without trace" German policy, which threatened our sovereign rights. We were an associate not an ally. The reason for the Allies' action is obvious. They did not intend that any precedent should be established by which the United States might claim a part of the spoils to be taken from the Central Powers.

[12]The implication that the British, in effect, endorsed loans which we made to the other Allies is a fallacy. Each nation was granted credits by our Treasury, as required, without regard to the risk involved, at no discount, thereby rendering each nation's credit good in every country in which they were required to purchase necessities.

practice in use by the Allies of supplying currency requirements for each other, to sell dollars to the Allied Governments and so procure foreign currencies with which to purchase supplies and services in their countries and for the use of the American army abroad. The dollars so obtained were retained by the Allied Governments in this country and applied by them to their war purchases here."[13] The United States paid its way at home, in Allied and neutral lands, supplied the Allies with credits for the bulk of their purchases in this country and a considerable portion of their requirements from neutrals; the Allies procured their imports mainly on credit, with our Treasury supplying the collateral. It was a door swinging both ways for them, but for us it opened one way only—out. It is easy to realize why the Allied and Associated nations owed us colossal sums, while we owed no nation.

The Day of Reckoning

The day of reckoning finally dawned, as it always does. None of our debtors had presented plans for meeting their obligations except by the disparate method of cancellation. A "round robin" was dispatched to them requesting negotiations for payment, as their obligations were long overdue and our Treasury was paying service charges on their debts. No reply was received, and a second note, couched in stronger terms, was sent. At last they were aroused to a realization that they owed us vast sums, which had been loaned willingly, but not given. It was a rude awakening to many misinformed citizens of Allied nations, who had been told Germany could pay all their war costs or that we had given the money, but their Governments had known the true status from the beginning. Putting off the inevitable had been the easiest way out till then, and they had adopted the path of least resistance.

Great Britain, the second largest war creditor nation, was the first to institute proceedings. "Amid widespread clamor for cancellation of the World War debts," said President Harding, "as a fancied but fallacious contribution toward peace—a clamor not limited to the lands of the debtor nations, but insistent among many of our own people—the British Commission came to make acknowledgment of the debt, to put fresh stamp of approval upon its validity and agree upon terms for repayment." The generous attitude adopted by the American Debt Commission during its numerous negotiations with debtor nations, approved by Presidents Harding and Coolidge, endorsed by the House and Senate Committees on Finance and passed by large majorities in the House and Senate, is known by most Americans, and space does not permit a repetition, but as few know for what uses were our loans employed an account may be enlightening.

Great Britain borrowed over $7,219,000,000[14] from our Treasury. Deduct $1,854,000,000 for purchases for other Allies. Deduct $760,000,000 repaid from her "own independent resources." Deduct $449,000,000 by dollar payments for British currencies. Deduct $81,000,000 by rupee credits in gold from India. Result: $4,075,000,000, principal amount refunded in 1923. Figured on a 4¼ per cent. basis,[15] the British debt settlement represents a present cash value of 80 per cent. of the amount due when refunded. Lord Curzon said we canceled $1,250,000,000.

Great Britain borrowed $2,544,000,000 for foodstuffs used by her military, civilians and Allies, but was credited for the latter amounts. Through her Food Ministry, Great Britain made a profit on the quantities sold to her own civilians. Great Britain borrowed $353,000,000 to repay Wall Street bankers for British war loans, advanced before we entered the war. Securities placed as collateral for these loans were returned and she has benefited by a lower rate of interest than upon the original loans. Great Britain borrowed $215,000,000 for other supplies and services used by her military and civilians, but we were obliged to sell dollars and buy sterling in order to pay cash for our needed supplies from England, Scotland, Ireland, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India, Ceylon, Burma, the Malay States and elsewhere in the Empire. She borrowed $325,000,000 to repay Canada for wheat and $48,000,000 for transporting British goods on American railroads and

[13] The Treasury never suggested that it pay cash for American requirements in Allied lands; it was obliged to do so. But being placed in that inequitable position, while Allied nations were procuring their requirements from this country on credit, it was natural that the Treasury requested them to apply these dollars to purchases here and so reduce to some extent their gigantic borrowings from our Government.

[14] If this number of dollar bills were placed end to end in continuous line they would reach thirty-four times around the world.

[15] The rate it cost the Treasury to meet interest and principal payments to holders of Liberty bonds when the debt was refunded.

ships, but we paid her $90,000,000 cash for carrying our soldiers and equipment overseas. Great Britain borrowed $99,000,000 for tobacco smoked by her military and civilians; on the quantities sold to her civilians she realized a profit. She borrowed $1,536,000,000 for munitions; $1,330,000,000 for herself and the balance for her Allies, which amount was credited to her account.

Great Britain borrowed $261,000,000 in silver from our melted-down "cart wheels" to maintain the Indian rupee. She borrowed $1,682,000,000 for "exchange and cotton purchases." According to our Treasury statement, "the greater portion of this expenditure was for the maintenance of sterling exchange, not necessary for purchases in America, but which enabled England to make purchases in other countries at an undepreciated exchange rate." With over a billion dollars borrowed from us, Great Britain bought pounds at home, in neutral and Allied countries. By this selling of dollars and purchase of sterling, she assisted in making the former a "glut" on the market, while through buying the latter she created a fictitious demand for sterling to such an extent that it was "pegged" at $4.75 7-16 during the rest of the war.[16] This shrewd manoeuvre increased the purchasing value of the pound between one-eighth and one-quarter throughout the world. To an equal degree it reduced the value of the dollar.

Our Treasury had to spend $500,000,000 in the foreign exchange market to buy sterling with which to pay for requirements from the British and was obliged to buy them at a loss in exchange estimated at $50,000,000. As Mr. Mellon explained in former statements, our Treasury supplied the billions spent for our requirements and those of the Allies from this country, billions for our requirements in Allied lands and additional billions with which to purchase neutral currencies for our requirements and a large portion of Allied requisites from neutrals. This terrible pressure from every country was too great for the overworked dollar; although it was actually the only sound currency among the belligerents during the last year of the war, it dropped to a discount.[17] Our losses from this unwarranted depreciation are conservatively estimated at over $400,000,000 for American imports alone. Great Britain saved between $350,000,000 to $700,000,000 on her imports, on account of the high and fictitious exchange rate of the pound, maintained at that rate by a prodigal expenditure of dollars.

[16]When dollar support was withdrawn after the Armistice, the pound dropped to $3.19.

[17]Dollars dropped to a discount of from 20 to 40 per cent. in Sweden, Norway, Holland, Switzerland, Spain, India, Japan, Argentina, Chile, Peru, Bolivia and China.

Generosity to France

France borrowed $4,195,000,000.[18] Deduct $1,198,000,000 for requirements of our forces in France. Deduct $64,000,000 repaid from her own resources. Result: $2,933,000,000. Add $407,000,000 advanced by our Treasury to purchase $562,000,000 worth of American supplies after the Armistice. Total: $3,340,000,000, principal amount owing without adding any interest for the past eight to ten years. "For obligations incurred by France to America after the war ended," Secretary Mellon states, "France owes us today $1,655,000,000. The present value of the entire French-American settlement, at the rate of interest carried in France's existing obligations, is $1,681,000,000. In effect, therefore, America has canceled the obligations of France for all advances during the war, and France in the Mellon-Bérenger agreement[19] has undertaken only to repay the advances and obligations subsequent to the Armistice. No other creditor of France has accorded such generous treatment."[20] Figured on the 4¼ per cent. basis, it represents a present cash value of 47 per cent. of the amount due when refunded.

France borrowed $850,000,000 for foodstuffs and made a profit by selling our grain, meat, sugar and other foodstuffs, obtained on credit, to her own civilians; $925,000,000 for munitions of all descriptions; $290,000,000 to repay Wall Street bankers for French loans contracted before we entered the war;[21] $108,000,000 for public works within her borders of permanent and revenue-producing character;

[18]Enough to carpet nearly half of the District of Columbia with dollar bills.

[19]This agreement, ratified by our Lower House, has not been approved by either the French Chamber of Deputies or the Senate.

[20]According to the French-British and French-American agreements, France will pay Britain $404,600,000 during the first five years, and but $160,000,000 to the United States. The initial borrowings of France from Great Britain totaled about 400,000,000 pounds sterling. On the settlement, compound interest was added to the amount of 300,000,000 pounds sterling, increasing the original debt by 75 per cent. The United States loaned initial advances to France of $3,340,000,000. The amount funded included simple interest to the amount of $684,000,000, an increase of the original debt of but 20 per cent.

[21]Securities placed as collateral for these loans were returned and our Treasury has been technically paying interest on these pre-war loans for the French Government.

$40,000,000 for additions, improvements and equipment for French railways; $12,000,000 to subsidize French agriculture; $7,000,000 for private industries and commercial firms in France; $109,000,000 for other American supplies and services; $122,000,000 for ships added to her merchant marine and for transportation services. But we paid fares and freight rates for our soldiers and equipment carried on French railways, paid for their clothing, food, equipment and housing in France while these men were giving their energy, their time and, thousands, their lives to repel German invaders from French, not American, soil.

With $431,000,000 borrowed from our Treasury for exchange purposes, France bought francs in neutral countries, Allied lands and at home, as the British bought sterling with our borrowed dollars, and created a spurious demand for francs to such a degree that they were "pegged" during the remainder of the war.[22] It is conservatively estimated that on our requirements in France alone the latter gained $250,000,000 by this fictitious exchange rate of the franc, maintained by a profuse expenditure of our dollars, while it cost us a corresponding additional amount. "We do not forget," remarked Minister of Finance Caillaux, while Chairman of the French Debt Commission, "and no one in our country will ever forget what we owe America for her splendid work to end victoriously the war and for the generous help our people received from the citizens of the United States in time of need." From recent French editorials and speeches by her Deputies and Senators, it seems evident that this was not the voice of French officialdom, but only the ingratiating phrases of a suave diplomat.

The Italian debt, principal amount of over $1,647,000,000, refunded in 1925, represents a present cash value of 25 per cent. of the amount due when refunded.[23] "The entire Italian delegation," said Count Volpi, Minister of Finance and Chairman of the Italian Debt Commission, "has been impressed with the fairness of the American Commission and their evident desire to do justice to Italy."

"Belgium has not forgotten," remarked Baron Cartier, Belgian Ambassador, "nor will she ever forget the decisive aid of the American army in the final triumph of the Allies, which for Belgium meant the restoration of her liberty and her independence. Invaded and occupied by the enemy, Belgium has always been grateful for the efficient and powerful work of the Commission for Relief in succoring her helpless civilian population. We also know that the restoration of our country would have been long delayed had it not been for advances freely granted us by the United States in the critical days which followed the Armistice." The Belgian debt, principal amount of $377,000,000, refunded in 1925, represents a present cash value of 46½ per cent. of the amount due when refunded.

Poland, though not an ally,[24] will repay 81 per cent. of the amount due when refunded in 1924; Czechoslovakia, 75 per cent.;[25] Yugoslavia, 31 per cent.;[26] Rumania, 75 per cent.;[27] Hungary, 81 per cent.;[28] Estonia, Finland, Latvia and Lithuania, 80 per cent. Austria has been granted a moratorium of twenty years to make possible an Austrian Government external loan, of which Americans subscribed $25,000,000. This treatment accorded the remnant of the empire that initiated hostilities does not smack of venality.

The Crux of the Discussion

Mr. Churchill challenges Mr. Mellon's statement that the thirteen agreements with our debtors need not entail heavy taxation on their citizens by supplying authentic figures purporting to prove his refu-

[22] After support was withdrawn francs began to drop and are today worth 20 per cent. of par value.

[23] According to the Italian-British and Italian-American agreements, Italy will pay Great Britain $92,500,000 during the first five years, and but $25,000,000 to the United States. Great Britain originally advanced Italy 370,000,000 sterling and compound interest was added upon funding to the amount of 241,000,000 sterling, an increase of 65 per cent. The United States loaned Italy $1,647,000,000 principal amount; on funding simple interest was added to the amount of $394,000,000, or less than 24 per cent. of the initial borrowings.

[24] A Polish army, under General Haller, recruited mainly in the United States and Canada, fought with the Allies on the Western front.

[25] Czechoslovakia did not exist as a separate entity before the Armistice and was incorporated in the Austrian Empire. Thousands of Czechs and Slovaks fought under the flag of the Dual Monarchy, though many did so against their wishes.

[26] In this cancellation of over two-thirds due to us, it is well to recall that, though King Peter's Serbs were stanch members of the Allies, the Croats and Slovenes were citizens of the Austrian Empire and arrayed with Germany against us and our associates.

[27] Rumania more than doubled its area by spoils of war because it was an ally.

[28] Victors do not usually help feed, clothe and minister to a defeated foe and then reduce their contracted obligations by one-fifth.

tation. In Mr. Mellon's reply and original statement total receipts and expected reparations are given. Here is the crux of the discussion. Whether the British Government wishes to differentiate between Bank of England advances and British Government loans, or between cash advances and war supplies provided for her allies are matters for it to arrange. It is also a personal question resting with the British Government whether its dominions, protectorates and colonies receive a share of receipts from Germany and her allies. Great Britain declared war and the other parts of the empire rendered her valiant assistance. The fact remains that Great Britain negotiated peace terms and settlements with her creditor and debtor nations. Mr. Mellon's figures are substantiated by official documents,[29] as are Mr. Churchill's, but the latter has not told the whole story. By separating interallied governmental debts from interallied commercial debts caused by the war and guaranteed by the respective Allied Governments, Great Britain may, in word, adhere to the Balfour principle and yet, in fact, collect by its Government and nationals from its Allies and Germany more than it pays the United States annually.

Even excluding reparations and interallied payments to each other, Americans are paying the chief European war debts due to us through indirect channels. Secretary Hoover estimated that during 1925 Americans paid $271,000,000[30] more than a fair price for rubber imports from the British Empire. Their excess profit from this commodity alone was over two-thirds more than paid us on their war debts that year. American tourists spent approximately $250,000,000 in France last year. This is over eight times the amount France will pay us this year under the Bérenger agreement. It is estimated by French authorities that Americans will spend a greater amount this year. Italy received approximately $100,000,000 in remittances from Italian-Americans last year, and American tourists spent in the neighborhood of $75,000,000 in Italy. Thousands of Italians return permanently to their natal land every year, taking their American savings with them, but without including this amount, Italy received in remittances and tourist expenditures from Americans more than thirty-five times the amount she paid us on her war obligations during the year.

Money for Other Purposes

Lack of space alone compels the omission of numerous examples showing that the Allies have money for other purposes, though countless pleas are advanced that payment of their war debts to us, even according to the generous agreement schedules, will work untold hardships on their people. The French naval program of 1923, in this era of reduction of armaments, called for ninety new warships; the 7,000,000,000-franc appropriation for additional fortifications on the Franco-German and Franco-Italian frontiers; reduction of the discount rate by the Bank of France in two months' time from 7½ to 5½ per cent., are typical examples. France is spending nine times more to maintain her military régime than she is paying us on her war debts. Expensive wars of conquest in Morocco and Syria since the World War are other instances. Great Britain could apparently afford to conduct a billion-dollar coal and general strike last year, export hundreds of millions for investment in foreign countries and her dependencies and at the same time reduce the discount rate of the Bank of England, while greatly increasing that institution's reserves. Great Britain is spending more than four times the amount being paid on her American war debts to maintain her military. These facts do not sound like penury.

Whether Germany can continue payments is a question that the future must decide. "In the field of reparation payments," reported S. Parker Gilbert, Agent General for Reparations, "Germany has in the second year, as in the first, promptly and loyally discharged all her obligations."[31] "The German attitude toward this situation," stated Dr. Bernhard Dernburg, former Minister of Finance, when referring to Germany's ability to meet increased annual payments, "is to try loyally to live up to the Dawes Plan and trust in the good faith and common sense of its administrators" Henry M. Robinson, of the Dawes Commission, after a thorough investigation

[29] According to official figures contained in the Franco-British agreement for payment of French debts; the Italian-British agreement for payment of Italian debts; the Mellon-Baldwin-Norman settlement for payment of British debts; the Mellon-Bérenger agreement for payment of French debts; the Mellon-Volpi settlement for payment of Italian debts and reports of the Reparations Commission and Agent General for Reparation Payments as stipulated in the Dawes Plan.

[30] Substantiated by British economists.

[31] During the period of the Dawes payments, Germany has paid $492,500,000.

this year, stated that the German people are well able to pay reparations in full, for "the reparation burden is probably less —certainly no greater—than Germany sustained in maintaining her war establishment before 1914." Germany's annual income is about $14,000,000,000, or more than twenty times the greatest annual reparation payments. Reparations at the maximum will place a tax on the national income of but 5 per cent. Our Associates will receive annually from 62,000,000 Germans more than twice the amount their 200,000,000 citizens, excluding vast and populous colonies, will pay America.

A recapitulation of the agreements made shows that the aggregate indebtedness of our Associates, due to our Treasury at the time the thirteen agreements were made, was $12,036,376,000. The funding agreements have a present cash value, figured on the 4¼ per cent. basis of only $6,862,285,000, or 57 per cent. of the amounts due to us when funded. Thus our Debt Commission has forgiven these European nations $5,174,091,000, or 43 per cent. of the sum total actually owing to our Treasury and American taxpayers. The finger of history can point to no such parallel of generous treatment to debtor nations by a creditor nation. Unmasked, the American Shylock is revealed as Europe's benefactor.

II. A Plea for Cancellation

By the Late CHARLES ALTSCHUL

With Introductory Note by JAMES T. SHOTWELL

Director of the History Division, Carnegie Endowment.

THIS is the last written article of one whose name is not unknown to the readers of CURRENT HISTORY. It was found among Mr. Altschul's papers, after his sudden death in the closing days of April, and is published substantially as written by him. A few minor changes have been made where there have been penciled indications calling for them, but nothing has been added to its contents or method of expression.

Mr. Altschul's interest in this problem was fully as keen as in the question of war guilt to which he devoted such careful and detailed study. As a banker, associated with one of the great international banking houses, he had unusual opportunities to judge the merit of the debt settlement. As this article shows, however, he approached the problem rather from the standpoint of patriotic duty in the effort to secure policies which may ultimately prove of greater advantage to our country than those which have followed in past negotiations. The article, moreover, is designated rather as a clarification of issues upon which definite suggestions may be built later than as the embodiment of such suggestions themselves. This is undoubtedly the first and most important subject before us. The recent controversies show that it is possible even to misunderstand not only the method pursued in previous negotiations, but also the statistical statement of results. We should, therefore, start once more at the beginning and take our bearings in terms that can be understood by any one. For in the long run a political settlement must rest upon the general agreement of the citizens of the countries involved. Anything short of this is bound to react sooner or later to the disadvantage of those who attempt to carry it through. Political settlements always carry with them imponderable elements which cannot be stated in terms of mere bookkeeping. Good-will among nations is at least as great an asset as it is in the world of business. It is upon this high plane of enlightened self-interest that Mr. Altschul's plea is made for both a clearer understanding and a fairer judgment concerning the financial obligations which remain as the last disturbing international element arising from the World War.

JAMES T. SHOTWELL.

A QUESTIONNAIRE FOR REVISIONISTS

What are interallied debts?

The sums of money advanced by the different allied and associated Governments to each other in connection with and in consequence of the World War.

What do the debts to the United States amount to?

What is the financial interest of our country in the matter?

WAR DEBTS OWING TO THE UNITED STATES*

Country	—Pre-Armistice— Cash Loans.	—Post-Armistice— Cash Loans.	War Supplies Relief Sup	and plies.	Total Indebtedness.	Repayments of Principal.	Net Indebtedness.
Armenia	.....	.....	$11,959,91	7.49	$11,959,917.49	.....	$11,959,917.49
Austria	.....	.....	24,055,70	8.92	24,055,708.92	.....	24,055,708.92
Belgium	$171,780,000.00	$177,434,467.89	29,872,73	2.54	379,087,200.43	$2,057,630.37	377,029,570.06
Cuba	10,000,000.00	.....	.....	....	10,000,000.00	10,000,000.00	.....
Czech'akia.	.....	61,974,041.10	29,905,62	9.93	91,879,671.03	.....	91,879,671.03
Estonia	.....	.....	13,999,14	5.60	13,999,145.60	.....	13,999,145.60
Finland	.....	.....	8,281,92	6.17	8,281,926.17	.....	8,281,926.17
France	1,970,000,000.00	1,027,477,800.00	407,341,14	5.01	3,404,818,945.01	64,302,901.29	3,340,516,043.72
G. Britain.	3,696,000,000.00	581,000,000.00	.....	....	4,277,000,000.00	202,181,641.56	4,074,818,358.44
Greece	.....	15,000,000.00	.....	....	15,000,000.00	.....	15,000,000.00
Hungary	.....	.....	1,685,83	5.61	1,685,835.61	.....	1,685,835.61
Italy	1,031,000,000.00	617,034,050.90	.....	...	1,648,034,050.90	364,319.28	1,647,669,731.62
Latvia	.....	.....	5,132,28	7.14	5,132,287.14	.....	5,132,287.14
Liberia	.....	26,000.00	.....	...	26,000.00	.....	26,000.00
Lithuania	.....	.....	4,981,62	8.03	4,981,628.03	.....	4,981,628.03
Nicaragua.	.....	.....	166,60	4.14	166,604.14	138,721.15	27,882.99
Poland	.....	.....	159,666,97	2.39	159,666,972.39	.....	159,666,972.39
Rumania	.....	25,000,000.00	12,922,67	5.42	37,922,675.42	1,798,632.02	36,124,043.40
Russia	187,729,750.00	.....	4,871,54	7.37	192,601,297.37	.....	192,601,297.37
Yugoslavia	10,605,000.00	16,175,465.56	24,978,02	0.99	51,758,486.55	720,600.16	51,037,886.39
Total	$7,077,114,750.00	$2,521,121,825.45	$739,821,77	6.76	$10,338,058,352.20	$281,564,445.83	$10,056,493,906.37

*From the Foreign Policy Association, Information Service, Vol. III, Special Supplement No. 1.

The "present cash value" of the claims of the United States, as redetermined by the Debt Funding Agreements, depends upon the rate of interest taken as a basis of calculation. The following table shows the values at 3 per cent., at 4¼ per cent., and at 5 per cent.

Can these debtor nations possibly pay the large amounts agreed upon in the coming sixty years?

It is conceivable but will altogether depend on the economic development of the world during this period and on political complications, which might possibly arise and frustrate the best intentions.

The serious problem involved in this matter is not so much whether the debtor countries will revive and progress sufficiently to tax themselves for the payments they agree to make us, but whether means can be found to transfer from these countries to ours the payments they have agreed to make.

Such transfers can only be made by:

1. The shipment of gold, of which the debtor countries are not likely to have available surplus;
2. The sale to us of assets located within those foreign countries, or what represents such assets, namely, shares or bonds;
3. Merchandise which they may ship to us in the ordinary course of trade.

In order to stimulate their export of goods, they will have to strive to undersell the markets of the world and particularly our own. The natural consequence of their success in this direction would be to interfere seriously with our own trade, to disorganize our industries and to create serious lack of employment in our country.

It is for us to decide to what extent we will make concessions in our demands arising from these loans in order to maintain the steady progress of our prosperity and the standards of living of our laboring element.

THE PRESENT VALUE OF WAR DEBTS

Country.	Av. Interest Rate.	Present Value at 3%.	P. C. of Overcharge.	P. C. of Cancellat'n.	Present Value at 4¼%.	P. C. of Cancellat'n.	Present Value at 5%.	P. C. of Cancellat'n.
Great Britain	3.3%	$4,922,702,000	7%		$3,788,470,000	17%	$3,296,948,000	28%
France	1.6	2,734,250,000		32%	1,996,509,000	52	1,681,369,000	58
Italy	0.4	782,321,000		62	528,192,000	75	426,287,000	79
Belgium	1.8	302,239,000		28	225,000,000	46	191,766,000	54
Poland	3.3	191,283,000	7		146,825,000	18	127,643,000	29
Czechoslovakia	3.3	124,995,000	8		91,964,000	21	77,985,000	33
Rumania	3.3	48,442,000	8		35,172,000	21	29,507,000	34
Yugoslavia	1.0	30,286,000		52	20,030,000	32	15,919,000	75
Estonia	3.3	14,798,000	7		11,392,000	18	9,915,000	18
Finland	3.3	9,630,000	7		7,413,000	18	6,452,000	18
Lithuania	3.3	6,452,000	7		4,967,000	18	4,322,000	18
Latvia	3.3	4,693,000	7		4,755,000	18	4,137,000	18
Hungary	3.3	2,076,000	7		1,596,000	18	1,388,000	19

Do these debts all rank alike as regards the purpose for which and time in which they were contracted?

No. Some of the sums were advanced after the Armistice had been concluded; others were for objects which might possibly not be considered covered by the Liberty Loan law "* * * for the purpose of more effectively providing for the national security and defense and prosecuting the war * * *"; for instance, sums advanced for the purchase of food to maintain the civilian populations, advances for the purpose of maintaining the market value of the different currencies, &c.

How could these last two purposes assist in the prosecution of the war?

Had the civilian population suffered from hunger or other serious distress, the morale of the soldiers at the front would have suffered accordingly; no people can fight successfully for any length of time under such conditions.

Had the currencies of any of the allied countries become deranged, the financing of the war would have been seriously interfered with. All Governments involved had to raise funds continuously from the citizens by the sale of bonds, and if the currencies of any of these countries had depreciated seriously, confidence would have been gravely shaken. In that case, the citizens' funds would have been hoarded and rendered unavailable for war purposes; the demand for bonds would have disappeared. Besides, prices would have risen abnormally, thereby still further complicating a very serious situation.

In order to prosecute the war successfully, both purposes therefore had to be accomplished.

Our payment in cash for purchases made by us in Europe during the war was merely another plan to prevent disruption of the international exchanges and demoralization of the currencies abroad.

What is meant by cancellation of war debts?

The complete waiver of any claim which one country might have against another for advances made in connection with or in consequence of the World War; or, in other words, the total annulment of all these debts without payment.

What is means by revision of the war debts?

A re-examination of everything in any way bearing on the subject, for the purpose of determining among other things, for instance:

The manner in which the debts originated and the background and conditions which prevailed at the time they were contracted;

Whether any part of the loans were made for purposes other than those authorized and defined by Congress;

Whether any sums heretofore not considered obligations of the borrowing Governments should be added to the total heretofore established;

Whether an offset, and if so what, should be allowed the borrowing Governments for the losses they suffered in killed and wounded while they held the line in Europe pending our arrival there;

The mode and time of payment of any net balance then appearing due.

Upon what original appeal did the United States make these loans to their associates in the war?

The President's purpose was elaborated in an address to Congress on April 15, 1917, in which, among other things, he said:

"These, then, are the things we must do, and do well, besides fighting, the things without which mere fighting would be fruitless: We must supply abundant food for ourselves and for our armies and our seamen *not only, but also for a large part of the nations with whom we have now made common cause,* in whose support and by whose sides we shall be fighting.

"We must supply ships by the hundreds out of our shipyards to carry to the other side of the sea, submarines or no submarines, what will every day be needed there, and abundant materials out of our fields and our mines and our factories with which not only to clothe and equip our own forces on land and sea, but also to clothe and support our people, for whom the gallant fellows under arms can no longer work; *to help clothe and equip the armies with which we are cooperating in Europe, and to keep the looms and manufactories there in raw materials; coal to keep the fires going* in ships at sea and *in the furnaces of hundreds of factories across the sea;* steel out of which to make arms and ammunition *both here and there;* rails for worn-out railways *back of the fighting fronts;*

locomotives and rolling stock to take the place of those every day going to pieces; mules, horses, cattle for labor and military service; *everything with which the people of England and France and Italy and Russia have usually supplied themselves, but cannot now afford the men, the material or the machinery to make."**

Did we go to war, then, to help those who were already at war with the Central Powers?

No. The reason for which we went to war, and the only one, was clearly expressed in the declaration of war against Germany, voted by Congress on April 2 and approved by the President on April 6, 1917. It was because "* * * the Imperial German Government has committed repeated acts of war against the Government and the people of the United States of America."

All other reasons advanced from time to time are merely personal interpretations.

Then it was OUR war?

It certainly was. Some Americans thought it should have been OUR war the moment Germany broke her own Treaty of Guaranty by invading Belgium. But this was not by any means generally recognized and is not even now admitted by many. But there never was a question but that it became OUR war the moment Congress declared war on Germany, April 2, 1917.

What was public opinion in this country when we followed the President's call and subscribed freely to the Liberty loans?

"We thought it our duty, and our interest, too, to stand with the Allies in the dreadful struggle. For the first year of our participation the only effective thing we could do was to put at their disposal our supplies of goods. The form of loan was chosen because it was the easiest and quickest way to get the thing done. Doubtless in the rush and pressure of the crisis no deliberate choice was made. And so it was with the Allies. Loans, if you will; anything that brings instant help."—Professor F. W. Taussig, *Atlantic Monthly*, March, 1927, p. 397.

Were these loans conceived and granted like commercial loans?

The Liberty Bond law authorized our Government to purchase obligations of foreign Governments at war with Germany; the term "obligation" in the law is unqualified. On the other hand, the address of the President to Congress, delivered April 15, 1917, pictures the spirit in which the loans were granted, and several speakers in Congress during the debate on the law emphasized a distinctly non-commercial attitude. (See Harvey E. Fisk's *The Inter-Ally Debts*, pp. 160-169.)

How was the money raised to make these enormous loans?

In order to supply the United States Treasury with the needed funds, the Government sold its bonds to the citizens of this country, and for that purpose carried on intensive campaigns or drives in order to induce subscriptions to the Liberty Loans and all form of Government obligations. Volunteers among all classes of the population assisted in these efforts.

Did our citizens hand over their funds against Liberty bonds and other of our Government obligations on the strength of the credit of the Governments to whom our Treasury in turn lent the money, or on the strength of the credit of the United States?

Our citizens responded to the call of our Government and bought the obligations of the United States, depending exclusively on the credit of our country. They never knew where the particular sums went which they contributed and they did not care; to them all went into one pool. But they knew perfectly well that, no matter what might happen, they had a claim against our Government—and against no one else—and that the credit of our Government had always measured up to the highest standards.

The situation was entirely different from what it would have been had these foreign countries tried to sell here their own bonds, endorsed by the United States Government. Such endorsed bonds would not have found favor with the general public and the sales would not have produced nearly the sums required. There is in all financial markets a preference for investments which carry the direct obligation of the most responsible party interested, rather

*Certain parts of President Wilson's address have been italicized for purpose of emphasis.

than the contingent responsibility of an endorser to pay after the borrower has failed to do so.

What steps did we take to combat Germany and her Allies after we had declared war?

We did at once all we could. We mobilized our navy and our army, started training men on a large scale for war, mobilized our industries, &c. But for a long time we could effectively assist our associates only by relieving their financial distress and in furnishing supplies and war material, doing thereby the things which the President had especially enumerated among those we must do besides fighting. The cost of these supplies and the financial assistance rendered now form a part of the total of the war debts.

Did we not at once fight side by side with our associates?

We did that too as soon as we could, and the psychological effect of our preparations on the enemy was very marked; but both the navy and army were unprepared for such a test. The navy was partly ready, but the Admiral in charge in Europe has stated that months passed before it got into proper working order.* Then, however, it assisted very materially and probably turned the scales in defeating submarine warfare.

The army first had to be built up, trained, and transported abroad. Although about 2,500 Americans were engaged by November, 1917, our soldiers really did not go into action on a large scale until about a year after our declaration of war, and did not enter the conflict in full force until three months later than that. Once they did, they took a very decisive part in all the battles they were engaged in.

What was the cost in lives to our associates in the war as they held the line meanwhile against our common enemy?

Of the English and French alone about 460,000 were killed or died of gunshot wounds, and about 900,000 were wounded or disabled during that period.

Would the United States have suffered if the line had been broken and the Central Powers had reached Paris?

Undoubtedly. Had the Allies suffered such a defeat, a peace would probably have been forced upon the English and French because both countries were already exhausted when we joined them. We would then have been compelled to continue the struggle alone or would have had to accept the terms offered by the victors. In either case, the cost would have been immeasurably greater than it would be now, even if we were to forego collecting any of the war debts. That the cost of continuing the war alone would have been carried to the last measure of exhaustion needs no argument in view of the fact that, in that event, Germany would have had the remaining resources of its former European enemies to draw upon in the contest with ourselves. If, on the other hand, a Germany, victorious in Europe, had offered us generous peace terms, thus avoiding these excessive war costs, yet the nature of such a peace with a great military empire dominant in half the world would be such as to cause vast expenditure upon our part for purposes of defense. That we never had to face these possibilities was largely due to the use made by the Allies of the supplies of war purchased from us.

When the World War Foreign Debt Commission arranged the settlements with the different European countries who had borrowed from us, was the loss of life suffered by our associates during the time of our inability to fight with them taken into consideration?

It was not.

If the value of such lives had been figured on the basis of a life insurance company's actuary tables, would the amount of indebtedness of these countries to us have been materially affected?

It would have been very materially reduced.

On what basis did the World War Foreign Debt Commission reach the figures on which the settlements were predicated?

The policy pursued in most cases was to treat each debtor nation on the basis of its particular capacity to pay the debt.

Is that not an entirely fair basis?

It would be in the case of settlement of debts between individuals in ordinary business, when all surrounding conditions have been weighed. But this is a different case: the settlements have been reached among nations who fought a common enemy, whose sufferings and losses have fallen very unevenly, and

*See Admiral Sims's "How We Nearly Lost the War," in *World's Work*, March, 1927.

whose strength to face the future was therefore very different. The European nations were steadily exhausting their resources during the period before we became actually involved; they were making great financial and man-power sacrifices, while we had meanwhile gained enormously by our trade with the belligerents. The settlements may have been fair if only figures are considered, but they fall far short if allowance is made for the human equation.

If we did reduce or cancel the war debts, would that not be an incentive to the countries thereby benefited to increase their military expenditures and thereby endanger the peace of the world?

There are other safeguards to ensure that this should not be so. The effective working of the Treaty of Locarno and the Covenant of the League of Nations would be the greatest assurance of a lessening of armaments. The debts of the Allies to America, resting upon their capacity to pay, naturally make them anxious about the payments of Germany to them, and this in turn keeps alive that political insecurity which is the real cause of excessive armaments.

But would not any other form of settlement, particularly a cancellation of debts, be against public policy and apt to shake the credit of the debtor countries which would accept it?

No. A voluntary waiver by a creditor of a claim against a debtor can in no way impair the standing of the debtor. Sanctity of contract does not come into play at all unless the contract be violated by the debtor.

Can and should these settlements be reviewed after having once been concluded?

Should in due time majority opinion in this country incline to the belief that the settlements were reached on a basis, which in view of our knowledge or understanding of the question seems unsatisfactory, we, as the creditor nation could with perfect propriety intimate to the debtor nations that we were desirous of reconsidering and revising the agreements heretofore reached.

What is the best policy?

"A decent respect for the opinions of mankind" always has been and always will be the best policy. The other nations obviously have not felt that they have been justly treated in the war debt settlements. Their case should receive consideration; we should not insist entirely on our own point of view in so complicated a transaction.

The relations between men and countries are vastly improved by a humane, instead of an exacting, attitude, and enlightened self-interest may well warrant sacrifices in order to maintain as broadly as possible the cordial friendly relations between ourselves and the countries which were our Associates in the World War.

Text of the British Note and Mr. Mellon's Reply

The following is the full text of the British note on war debts which was handed by H. G. Clinton, Acting Counselor of Embassy, on behalf of the British Ambassador, to Secretary of State Kellogg in Washington on May 2, 1927:

The attention of his Majesty's Government has been drawn to the letter on allied war debts addressed to Professor John Grier Hibben, President of Princeton University, by Mr. Mellon, Secretary of the United States Treasury, which was published on March 17. So far as this letter deals with matters of domestic controversy, his Majesty's Government have, of course, no desire to offer any comment upon it. But the letter also contains certain specific references to the position of Great Britain; and his Majesty's Government feel bound to point out that on points of cardinal importance these statements do not correspond with the facts as known to his Majesty's Government.

His Majesty's Government feel that in justice to themselves and in order that public opinion in both countries should have a fair opportunity of judging the position, it is essential that they should frankly bring such points to the attention of the United States Government.

2. In the first place, Mr. Mellon states that the United States "agreed to furnish the Allies dollars with which all their purchases in the United States should be consummated, and, what is more, we agreed to lend them these dollars"; but "when the United States purchased supplies and services from France and the British Empire" they "did not get these francs and pounds on credit; they paid cash." The United States "are now urged to cancel these debts because it is alleged that they were incurred in the common cause, but neither abroad nor in the United States has it been suggested that if this is to be done, the United States are to be reimbursed the dollarage actually expended by us in France and Great Britain."

This statement implies that the United States Government lent the British Govern-

ment all the dollars required to purchase supplies in America, and that over and above these loans they paid dollars to Great Britain for the services and supplies they required from the British Empire, and that these dollars were retained by his Majesty's Government for their own purpose. Such, of course, is not the case.

All the dollar payments made by the United States for their sterling requirements in Great Britain—which, though considerable, were of course smaller in amount than the war loans to the United Kingdom—were taken into account in fixing the total amount of the war loans advanced to Great Britain, and were applied directly to the purchase of supplies in America or to the repayment of debt.

The arrangements made are clearly and concisely stated in an article published in *Foreign Affairs* (April, 1925), by Mr. Rathbone, who was during the war Assistant Secretary of the United States Treasury. Mr. Rathbone's explanation was as follows:

"For its own war purpose in Great Britain, France and Italy, the United States did not borrow pounds or francs or lire. Our Treasury was obliged to procure these currencies for the use of our army abroad. We bought pounds, francs and lire from the Governments of Great Britain, France and Italy, and made payments thereof in dollars here.

"The dollars thus obtained by Great Britain, France and Italy were applied by them toward the cost of their war purchases here, and thus the amount of the dollar loans required by these countries from our Treasury was diminished in a corresponding sum."

It will be seen that the United States Government did not lend the whole of the money required for British purchases in America, but that the dollars received from the United States Treasury in payment of sterling provided by Great Britain were used to cover a corresponding part of Great Britain's dollar requirements and only the net dollar requirements were covered by loans from the United States Government.

This arrangement was obviously equitable and satisfactory to both parties, and was in fact originally suggested by the United States Government, in a letter dated the 3d of December, 1917, from Mr. Leffingwell, then Assistant Secretary of the United States Treasury, to the British Treasury representative in Washington, which includes the following paragraph:

"I assume that your Government will use the dollar fund thus received for meeting its dollar requirements for purchases here and would therefore reduce correspondingly its requests for dollar advances from the United States Treasury."

The dollar payments to Great Britain were thus regularly applied to reduce the dollar advances to Great Britain, so long as the latter continued; when they ceased in 1919 the dollar payments by the United States Government were utilized to reduce the debt incurred by Great Britain. The statement made in Mr. Mellon's letter on this point appears to his Majesty's Government to be likely to give a very erroneous impression of the facts.

3. His Majesty's Government now pass to Mr. Mellon's contention that the payments made to the United States Government in respect of the British war debt impose no burden on the British taxpayer.

Mr. Mellon states that "all our principal debtors are already receiving from Germany more than enough to pay their debts to the United States."

So far as Great Britain is concerned this statement is incorrect. The receipts of Great Britain during the financial year 1926-1927 from Germany on account of reparations represent approximately one-quarter of the payments made by his Majesty's Government to the United States Government, and their prospective reparation receipts during the present financial year 1927-1928 (assuming that they are transferred in full) will fall substantially below one-half of the payments due to be made to the United States.

Even if the receipts from Germany on account of army costs (which represent a partial reimbursement of the expenditures incurred by his Majesty's Government on the maintenance of their forces) and on account of the Belgian war debt (which represents a payment on behalf of Belgium) are included, the total receipts of Great Britain from Germany in either of these years will not exceed one-half of her payments to the United States.

There can be no dispute as to the facts; the figures are published by the Agent General for Reparations Payments and are fully available to the United States Treasury.

4. When he comes later to deal with the position of Great Britain, Mr. Mellon does not in fact compare British receipts from Germany alone with British payments to the United States Government; he compares the total receipts of Great Britain from reparations and interallied debts, together with the payments due by her to the United States Government.

He gave figures purporting to show that Great Britain will receive $2,000,000 (£412,000) more this year than she pays to the United States; $15,000,000 (£3,090,000) more next year, and $70,000,000 (£14,403,000) more in 1928-29.

While he admits that "in the past two years Great Britain has received about $100,000,000 (£20,576,000) from Germany, France and Italy less than she has paid to the United States," he adds that "it is equally true that, from this year on, Great Britain will, every year, receive from her debtors a substantial amount more than she will pay to us, so that her American payments will not constitute a drain upon her economic resources."

5. This statement is also inaccurate, both as regards the past and as regards the future.

From the 1st of April, 1919, to the 31st of October, 1926, Great Britain has paid the sum of $822,500,000, or £170,500,000, in respect of the debt to the United States Government, whereas the sums received by Great Britain on account of reparations, Belgian war debt and allied war debts up to the same date amount to £41,000,000 ($200,000,000), leaving a deficit of £129,500,000 ($628,500,000).

There seems no special reason to select the past two years only, as is done in Mr. Mellon's letter, but the position as regards this period is that during the first two years of the operation of the Dawes plan (1924-1925 and 1925-1926), the receipts of this country from reparation (including Belgian war debt) and allied war debts together fell short of British payments to the United States Government by approximately £50,000,000 ($243,000,000).

As regards the financial year 1926-1927, the share of the United Kingdom in the third Dawes plan annuity in respect of reparation

and Belgian war debt amounts to £12,000,000 and the receipts from interallied war debts to £8,500,000, or a total of £20,500,000, as against the payment due to the United States Government of £33,000,000.

During the following year (1927-1928) the share of the United Kingdom in the fourth Dawes annuity in respect of the Belgian war debt and reparation should amount to £14,500,000 and the receipts from interallied war debts to £10,500,000, or a total of £24,750,000, as against the payment of £33,000,000 to the United States.

The share of the United Kingdom in the fifth and subsequent Dawes annuities (that is, after the first of September, 1928) for Belgian war debt and reparation should amount to £22,400,000, and this, together with the payments from interallied war debts (assuming the French war debt agreement to have been ratified and neglecting past deficits in British receipts as compared with payments) would be sufficient to cover the current payments to the United States Government.

Whether the payments from the Dawes annuities included in the above calculations will, in fact, be received, depends, of course, on whether it is found possible to transfer the full amounts provided for by the Dawes plan.

But even if the full Dawes payments continue to be received for sixty years from now onward, the present value of the receipts of Great Britain from reparation and allied war debts together would be less than that of the payments she is obligated to make to the United States Government on account of the British war debt, assuming interest at 5 per cent. to be added to the payments to be discounted at the same rate.

8. It is quite true that his Majesty's Government have frequently declared that their policy is to recover such a sum, in respect of their war loans to the Allies, as, with the reparation receipts of Great Britain, will suffice to cover the annual payments which they have to make to the United States; but this situation has not yet been reached, and up to the present the British taxpayer has had to find the greater part of the payments to the United States from his own resources, even after applying all receipts from reparations and interallied debts to this purpose, and using none of these receipts as a set-off against the interest which has to be paid on the loans raised in Great Britain out of which advances were made to the Allies.

In no circumstances will Great Britain receive from reparations and interallied war debts taken together more than she pays to America.

The policy of his Majesty's Government on this subject has been repeatedly declared. It is not their desire to retain for their country anything out of receipts from reparations and interallied war debts.

In the event of their receipts from interallied debts and reparations exceeding the payments made by them to the United States Government, they have undertaken to reduce, proportionately, the payments due to be made to Great Britain in respect of interallied war indebtedness, and a provision to this effect appears in the various war debt funding agreements which his Majesty's Government have signed.

9. It is not clear on what basis the calculations cited by Mr. Mellon have been made, but it appears probable that error has arisen of the following points:

(a) RECEIPTS FROM GERMANY

The figures mentioned by Mr. Mellon appear to relate to the total receipts of the British Empire from the Dawes annuities. But these include receipts in respect of the costs of occupation as well as in respect of Belgian war debt and reparation.

The receipts in respect of costs of occupation represent a partial reimbursement of expenditures incurred by Great Britain; they are thus not available to enable payments to be made to the United States without imposing a burden on Great Britain and must be left out of account for the purpose of the present calculation.

Further, the British Empire reparation receipts have to be distributed between Great Britain and other parts of the Empire, the share of Great Britain having been agreed as 86.85 per cent. of the total. The balance is not received by her.

(b) RECEIPTS FROM FRANCE

A more important error is contained in the figures given by Mr. Mellon of the receipts of Great Britain from France. These appear to include the sums which were due by the Bank of France to the Bank of England in repayment of an advance made during the war.

This loan was a private transaction and is not an intergovernmental debt. The payments are made to the Bank of England and not one penny thereof accrues to the British Treasury or the British Government.

They are thus entirely irrelevant to the question of the extent to which the British taxpayer can meet payments to the United States Government out of receipts from reparation and allied war debts.

It should be added that, while the British taxpayer received nothing from his commercial debt of the Bank of France, he has to meet very large market debts incurred by the British Treasury in the United States before the United States Government entered the war. Since April 1, 1919, the British taxpayer has paid $680,000,000, or £140,000,000, on this head, over and above the payments made to the United States Government.

10. These facts and figures appear to his Majesty's Government sufficient to controvert the statement put forward by Mr. Mellon that the payments made to the United States Government in respect of the British war debt will not constitute a drain on British economic resources.

But much more might be said. It must be remembered that, in addition to paying their own debts to the United States, the British people are sustaining the full charge for the advances made by his Majesty's Government to the Allied Governments to enable them to finance the purchase of necessary commodities during the war, not only in Great Britain but also in neutral countries.

The capital sums lent for this purpose amounted to a net total of about £1,350,000,000 ($6,600,000,000), which, with interest accrued during the war period, amounted on July 1, 1919, to over £1,450,000,000 ($7,000,000,000), or nearly double the debt which his Majesty's Government had themselves contracted at that date with the United States Government.

This amount was borrowed by the British Government from its own nationals, and in respect of this debt the British taxpayer has had to pay interest at over 5 per cent. each year since, making a total annual payment of £72,500,000, which will continue until the debt

is paid off by further and additional contributions from British taxpayers.

No relief from this burden can be looked for from receipts from reparations and allied war debts, for in no case will those receipts amount to a greater total than that of British debt payments to the United States Government.

11. Whereas the United States Government is receiving from Germany a share of the Dawes annuities estimated to cover its reparation claims in full, and at the same time obtains from Great Britain repayment, with interest at 3 per cent. of the full amount of war loans it advanced to Great Britain, Great Britain will retain for herself nothing of any such payments she receives in respect either of reparations or of interallied war debts, but will apply all her receipts toward part payment of her liabilities to the United States.

Any balance that remains she will pay out of her own resources, and in any case she will have to support the entire burden of her war losses and of the war loans she herself made to her allies.

12. His Majesty's Government have set out these considerations in no contentious or controversial spirit. On the contrary, their desire is to maintain and to promote a friendly understanding between the two great English-speaking nations, on whose cooperation great issues for the peace and progress of the world depend.

They view with great misgiving the divergence of opinion and the estrangement of sentiment which is growing up in regard to these war obligations. It appears to them to be the task of British and of American statesmen to do what can be done to alleviate this difference of view by setting out frankly and fairly the facts of the case and the policy adopted on either side.

But the controversy can only be intensified if public opinion in America is guided by statements of facts in regard to their European debtors which to those debtors appear inaccurate and misleading.

It is for this reason that his Majesty's Government regret that there should have been issued, under the authority of the Secretary of the United States Treasury, a series of statements in regard to Great Britain which, for the reasons set out above, appear to them not to represent accurately or completely the facts.

They trust that the United States Government will take steps to remove the unfortunate impression that has been created by the issue of this statement.

The position and policy of the British Government in regard to those international payments is well known and the records are easily available; but if at any time further information is desired by the United States Treasury, his Majesty's Government will be happy to furnish it.

(For the Ambassador)
H. G. CHILTON.

REPLY OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE

Secretary of State Kellogg's acknowledgment of the British note, addressed to Sir Esmé Howard, the British Ambassador, and dated May 4, 1927, read as follows:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Chilton's note of May 2, 1927, in which he communicated to the Government of the United States the comments of the British Government on certain statements contained in a letter dated March 15, 1927, from Mr. Mellon, the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, to Mr. Hibben, the President of Princeton University.

The Government of the United States regards the correspondence between Mr. Mellon and Mr. Hibben as a purely domestic discussion, and does not desire to engage in any formal diplomatic exchanges upon the subject.

Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

FRANK B. KELLOGG.

MR. MELLON'S STATEMENT

Although the State Department was unwilling to enter into a discussion of the issues raised by the British note, the Treasury Department on May 4 issued the following as a statement by the Secretary of the Treasury:

The Treasury Department has no desire to enter into a controversy with the British Government on the subject of allied war debts, but inasmuch as the British Government in an official note to the American State Department has seen fit to challenge the facts and figures contained in a letter addressed by the American Secretary of the Treasury to the President of Princeton University, the Treasury deems it its duty to present the facts as it knows them and to endeavor to explain existing differences.

It should be noted at the outset that the letter of the Secretary of the Treasury to President Hibben was in answer to a statement put out by members of the Faculty of Princeton University urging a reconsideration of the debt settlements, and was directed specifically to their arguments.

It was not intended as a communiciation, direct or indirect, to the British Government, and that Government was referred to only as an incident to the general thesis therein set forth.

It should be noted, in the second place, that the figures in the British note are apparently used in a technical accounting sense, so that, for instance, the term "allied war debts" excludes debts for war stocks.

Similarly, payments received from Germany are used in the most strictly limited sense, and do not include such items as receipts on account of army of occupation.

While not admitting it, the British Government's note does not deny that the sums specified in my letter were actually paid by the people of France, Germany and Italy, but says in substance that some of the sums paid accrued to the benefit of the Bank of England, others to the Dominions, and apparently, from our reading of their figures, such items as payment for war stocks are not considered by them, as accruing to the benefit of the Exchequer on account of war debts.

This is the real cause of the apparent disagreement as to facts. There is no basis of comparison when, for instance, payments on account of war debts, as used by the American Treasury, include the payments on account of war stocks sold, but such an item is not included by the British under the head of war debt payments.

Again, there is bound to be disagreement when the American Treasury Department, in

discussing payments received from Germany, includes all payments, while the British Government, in answer, confines itself to payments strictly on account of reparations and Belgian war debt. Under such circumstances there is not a disagreement as to fact; there is simply a failure to join issue.

But even these differences of interpretation are material only in respect to the period prior to Sept. 1, 1928. The British Government admits that, beginning on that date, assuming that the French agreement is ratified, it will receive from its own debtors and from Germany sums "sufficient to cover the current payments due to the United States Government."

This, it should be noted, is the principal point made in the letter of the Secretary of the Treasury to President Hibben, and the accuracy of this point is now officially confirmed by the British Government.

The first statement to which the British Government takes exception is one advanced by me in reply to the argument that the loans made by the American Government during the war should be considered as contributions to a common cause, in which I pointed out that there was merit in such a contention only if the proposed adjustment was a mutual one and to be applied on a strictly equal basis between us and our debtor nations.

I pointed out that the dollars with which goods and services were purchased in this country were furnished to our associates on credit, whereas the pounds with which we purchased goods and services in Great Britain were paid for in cash. I then went on to say:

In other words, we paid cash for the goods and services necessary to enable us to make our joint contribution to the common cause. Our associates got the goods and services purchased in this country necessary to enable them to make that part of their joint contribution on credit. Here is the fundamental reason which explains why we ended the war with every one owing us and our owing no one.

We are now urged to cancel these debts because it is alleged that they were incurred in a common cause, but neither abroad nor in this country has it been suggested that if this is to be done we are to be reimbursed the dollars actually expended by us in France and Great Britain so that the goods and services they sold us might constitute their contribution to the common cause.

This the British Government does not deny: That we paid cash for goods and services obtained in Great Britain and that for the most part they received goods and services in this country on credit; but they say this is misleading because they used the dollars purchased by us in Great Britain for future purchases in this country.

The point seems to me immaterial. The dollars they received from the American Government increased their available cash resources, while the promisory notes we received did not increase our available cash resources.

For the purchases made by Great Britain in the United States, dollars were furnished by the American Government by borrowing from its own citizens, the British Government giving its obligations to the American Government for the equivalent.

For the purchases made by the American Government in Great Britain the United States Government did not borrow pounds from the British Government, and give its obligations to the British Government, but borrowed dollars from its own citizens with which to purchase the pounds, and actually paid cash to Great Britain.

Had the transactions been identical in form, the British Government would now hold obligations of the American Government to cover purchases made in Great Britain, just as the American Government holds obligations of the British Government for purchases made in America, and, obviously, cancellation could not be urged on a one-sided basis.

The fact that the cash employed in purchasing pounds was borrowed from American citizens and not from the British Government is the distinguishing difference, and any program of cancellation which does not allow for this difference gives the United States no credit on the amount of its war debt for purchases made in Great Britain and other countries.

The British note refers to the statement in my letter to President Hibben that all of our principal debtors are already receiving from Germany more than enough to pay their debts to the United States. The Princeton and Columbia professors had stated that "we do not desire to impose tremendous burdens of taxation for the next two generations on friendly countries."

My letter pointed out that in reaching the debt settlements based on the debtors' capacity to pay only incidental consideration was given to the reparation payments to be received by the debtor countries from Germany.

In other words, I pointed out that we endeavored to make settlements which the debtors could meet from their own resources without too serious a burden on their economic life. We have always claimed, and claim now, that the debts due us are in no way connected with German reparations.

I then went on to point out that it now appears that all of our principal debtors are already receiving from Germany more than enough to pay their debts to the United States.

There was no intention to include Great Britain in the statement that enough was received from Germany alone. The British situation I covered separately later. That sentence, as originally drafted, contained the words "except Great Britain," but these words in the final copy were inadvertently omitted. The error was an obvious one and was corrected by the text immediately following.

It is not believed that any injustice to Great Britain has resulted or that the British Government could have been misled in view of the fact that on the page next following Great Britain's position is segregated and treated separately from that of our other debtors and in the case of Great Britain we enumerated specifically the payments to be received, stating that they will be received not only from Germany but from France and Italy as well. I said:

"Finally we come to Great Britain. Under the agreements with France, Great Britain will receive from France approximately $71,000,000 this year, from Italy approximately $19,000,000, from Germany approximately $72,000,000, and will pay us $160,000,000."

In the light of this very clear and definite statement, it is rather surprising that the British Government should lay stress on what the context showed to be a typographical er-

ror, immediately corrected, and go to such lengths to disprove a statement which was already completely covered.

The British Government also questions certain figures given as to payments received by Great Britain from France, Germany and Italy.

These figures were taken from the attached table showing the estimated payments and receipts of Great Britain during a twelve-year period. The figures are inclusive figures and are derived from the best sources available to the Treasury.

land under the head of reimbursements of foreign commercial debts which the Treasury must meet in 1927.

In this connection, carrying as it does the implication that no Government was involved, the statement of the British note that "this loan was a private transaction and is not an intergovernmental debt" is not strictly accurate.

It was in the light of these facts and in the absence of any official statement as to the responsibility of the British Government to the Bank of England that these payments

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS OF GREAT BRITAIN

During Twelve-Year Period, 1924-1936.
(In thousands of dollars.)

Year.	——Sums to Be Received From:—— France. (1).	Italy. (2).	Germany. (3).	Grand Total of Receipts.	Sums to Be Paid by Gt .Britain to U. S.	Surplus of Payments.	Available for Gt. Britain.
1924-25	58,282	.....	45,487	103,769	159,965	56,196	.....
1925-26	50,369	9,733	56,782	116,884	160,260	43,376	.....
1926-27	71,052	19,466	72,479	162,997	160,525	.....	2,472
1927-28	69,348	19,466	87,141	175,955	159,775	.....	16,180
1928-29	85,165	19,466	127,471	232,102	160,995	.....	71,107
1929-30	32,363	19,466	125,142	176,971	160,185	.....	16,786
1930-31	60,832	19,466	124,118	204,416	160,360	.....	44,056
1931-32	60,832	19,466	125,175	205,473	159,520	.....	45,953
1932-33	60,832	20,041	125,815	206,688	171,500	.....	35,188
1933-34	60,832	20,041	125,815	206,688	183,340	.....	23,348
1934-35	60,832	20,041	128,912	209,785	182,220	.....	27,565
1935-36	60,832	20,041	128,912	209,785	181,100	.....	28,685

1—Includes payments by France on account of advances of Bank of England, less gold to be returned and on account of war stocks debt.
2—Includes payments by Italy on war debt, less gold to be returned.
3—Includes all receipts from Germany under Dawes plan.
£1—$4.8665.

I do not understand that the British Government challenges the accuracy of these inclusive figures in so far as they represent amounts paid and to be paid by the peoples of Germany, Italy and France to Great Britain, but that it contends that all of these sums will not inure to the benefit of the British Treasury and, therefore, cannot be held to relieve the British taxpayer directly, though they unquestionably add materially to British economic resources.

Even so, it is not understood why the British Government apparently fails to include in its figures the payments made by the French on the debt incurred in respect of war stocks sold.

From our standpoint, the amount paid this year by the French Government on account of the $400,000,000 of supplies sold the French Government after the war constitutes a payment on account of the war debts beneficial to the American Treasury.

In so far as the payments from the Bank of France to the Bank of England were concerned, they were included in the figures set out in the table, because in the report presented by M. Clementel, the French Finance Minister in 1921, known as the *Inventaire de la Situation Financière de la France au Début de la Treizième Legislature*, the statement is made that the Bank of France was simply acting as an intermediary and that the loan was made to the Bank of France for the benefit of the French Government.

Moreover, the published report of the Finance Commission of the French Chamber of Deputies indicates that the 1927 budget of the French Government includes an item of 1,200,000,000 francs to be paid to the Bank of England were included in my statement of international payments on account of war debts.

If the British Government was obligated to indemnify the Bank of England, the payments would serve to reduce a contingent liability which, if not paid by France, would become an added burden to the British taxpayer.

But irrespective of the application of the large payments which Great Britain has received and will receive this year from the Governments of Germany, France and Italy, I desire to point out that the Columbia and Princeton professors had claimed that the payments to this country would impose a tremendous burden of taxation on friendly countries for the next two generations. This is the statement which I challenged.

The note of the British Government makes it entirely clear that I was correct in challenging the accuracy of that statement, for whatever differences there may be as to the payments to be received and made by Great Britain in the years 1926 and 1927, the British Government admits that after the 1st of September, 1928, it will receive from its debtors enough to cover current payments due to the United States Government, assuming the agreement with France is ratified.

The two points most stressed by the advocates of debt cancellation are that capacity to pay is not a fair basis of settlement and that the agreements that have been negotiated will impose on those debtors with whom we were associated in the war a heavy burden over a very long period of time.

What I desired to emphasize in the letter to President Hibben was that there could be no fairer measuring stick than capacity to pay, liberally interpreted, and then to bring out the

all-important fact, apparently overlooked, that some of our debtors have already reached the point, and others are about to reach it, where, taking into consideration all payments on account of war debts and war indemnities, our principal debtors are receiving or will receive more than they pay us.

In other words, in the near future balances on international payments resulting directly from war debts or Dawes payments will be in favor of our principal debtors. The purpose of the Hibben letter was to make this clear to the American people.

I have in this statement confined myself to answering the criticisms of the Hibben letter contained in the British note. It seems to me wholly undesirable to enlarge the field of possible differences by commenting on other phases of the British note, and the failure to do so should not be interpreted as an agreement with all of the views therein set forth.

It seems to me, however, that the reference to the share of the Dawes annuities to be received by the United States, "estimated to cover its reparation claims in full," is rather unfortunate in view of the very limited claim presented by the United States on account of reparations as contrasted with those presented by our associates in the war.

The payments on account of reparations which the British Government is receiving are based in part on claims, such as pensions and separation allowances, of a character not included by the United States in its reparation bill.

I have no desire to comment on the statement of the policy enunciated in the British note to the effect that Great Britain will retain for herself nothing of any payments she receives in respect of either reparations or interallied war debts, but will apply all of her receipts toward payments of her liabilities to the United States.

By implication this means that, should the United States further reduce British obligations to the United States, the British Government would cancel a like amount of obligations due to it from its debtors.

It is very obvious that the British Government would neither lose nor gain in such a transaction. The United States Government is, however, in a very different position. The British Government is both creditor and debtor. The United States Government is a creditor only, and every dollar of debt canceled by the United States represents an increase by just that amount of the war burden borne by the payer.

Lindbergh's Epoch Making Flight From New York to Paris

Continued from Page 512

sented to him by Gaston Doumergue, President of the French Republic, and Lindbergh for the first and only time in Europe gave evidence of the emotion which must have gripped him. On the 24th he was the guest of Americans in Paris and told simply of his trip. That day his own country offered him a warship to bring him home.

On May 25 he was received by the French Chamber of Deputies, and he met Blériot, the first man to cross the Channel by air, and called him "master." On the 26th he met Foch and Joffre and Briand, each of whom paid him tribute as a man of great courage and a worthy American. He drove in a procession through the city to the Hôtel de Ville and was received officially by the city officials and great men of the republic. The next day Lindbergh thrilled Paris and gave vent to his own happiness by flying a tiny French pursuit plane over the city and doing stunts which showed the French that he was not only brave but a master of his plane.

Lindbergh flew to Brussels in his silver plane, "The Spirit of St. Louis," on the 28th and was received by King Albert of Belgium, who decorated him with the cross of a Chevalier of the Royal Order of Leopold. London saw him the next day as he swooped down at Croydon, and again he went through the ordeal of being overwhelmed by a mob. King George received him on the 31st and presented him with the rare Air Force Cross. The only other Americans to get it were the crew of the NC-4, the first airplane to cross the Atlantic by way of the Azores. And he saw the Prince of Wales, who was much more interested in Lindbergh than he was in his flight.

His Character Triumphs

In all these days Lindbergh made a personal impression which did more to raise his flight to the heights of romance than anything else. His unassuming modesty, his boyishness, his rare tact and good sense won for him the admiration of Europe. Something of it was expressed by Sir Samuel Hoare, Secretary of State for Air, who at a dinner to Lindbergh in London said:

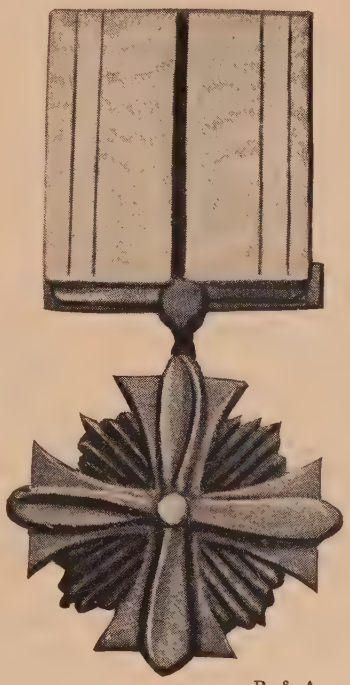
There are some foolish people—I am glad to

think there are very few of them—who are asking the question: "Of what use to the world are these efforts and sacrifices? What use to the world is a flight like Captain Lindbergh's?" If I had time I could prove to them that from the technical point of view these long distance flights are of great value. They stimulate progress; they test reliability.

Is it not of value to the technical progress of aviation that a single air-cooled engine of 220 horsepower, consuming only ten gallons of petrol an hour, should have traveled over 3,500 miles and been fit for another lap at the end of it?

Is not a long distance flight of this kind of great value as a test of aerial navigation? Flying through fogs and storms Captain Lindbergh never seems to have been deflected from his course. Surely this experience is not only a testimony to his great skill as a navigator, but also a lesson of value in the study of aerial navigation.

But I set aside these technical justifications, for upon a flight of this kind the world at large rightly reaches its verdict upon broader grounds. The peoples of many countries are today applauding Captain Lindbergh's achievement, not so much because some material gain will be obtained in this or that way, but because it is a fine example of nerve and endurance, of skill, courage, enterprise and adventure. The more drab the world becomes the more gladly we welcome such fine achievements as his.



P. & A.

The Distinguished Flying Cross presented to Lindbergh by President Coolidge.

Farewell Visit to Paris

Lindbergh pleased the French again by going back to Paris for a brief visit before sailing for home on the cruiser Memphis to be welcomed by President Coolidge. He wanted to leave Europe from the country in which he arrived, so he took off from Kenley, England, in a British plane at 6 o'clock on the morning of June 3. Forced to land at Lympne, England, after flying only 38 minutes, to procure new fuel, bad weather conditions producing mist and fog over the Channel, held him up for two hours; but on the arrival of the big Handley-Page plane of the regular London-Paris air service, Lindbergh decided to follow. He flew across the Channel in the wake of the Handley-Page machine and landed at Le Bourget at 10 o'clock. He then proceeded to Paris, where he went at once to the American Embassy. He was the guest of the International League of Aviators at a luncheon given in their club in the Bois de Boulogne, where he received the signal honor of being made an honorary member of the Lafayette Escadrille, the famous American war volunteer air squadron with the French army. In the presentation speech Dr. Edmund Gros explained that the Lafayette fliers, believing Lindbergh to personify the courage and all the virtues typical of this famous group, had charged him to bestow this mark of their admiration and brotherhood upon him. Captain Lindbergh, deeply moved, replied that "this little pin [the pin and insignia of the Escadrille] means more to me than probably any honor I have received since I came to Europe." Previously, in response to a toast, he expressed his regret at leaving France. In tribute to the people of his father, he attended a brief ceremony at the Swedish Church in Paris. Another visit was to the Comité France-Amérique. Ending his visit to Paris he was that evening voted an honorary member of the Paris Post of the American Legion by acclaim.

Next day he flew to Cherbourg on a French plane to board the Memphis, and came home after the most extraordinary triumph a young American has ever had.

Lindbergh's Reception in Washington

Lindbergh's home-coming may best be described in his own words: "My mind is ablaze with noise, terrific noise, oceans of upturned friendly faces and an electric sort of something that can hardly be described." His reception both in Washington and New York was an unprecedented triumph. His ship, the Memphis, arrived on June 10. America's first greeting to the triumphant flier was delivered a hundred miles out at sea by four destroyers, and the Memphis was escorted up Chesapeake Bay by a con-

voy of four destroyers, two army blimps and forty airplanes. The Memphis arrived off Piney Point, Md., at 9 P. M. (June 10) and anchored over night. Lindbergh was received on the morning of June 11 at the Navy Yard pier, by Secretaries Wilbur, Davis, New, and former Secretary Hughes, Admiral Eberle, and Major Gen. Patrick and Rear Admiral Moffett, heads of the Army and Navy air services, and Commander Byrd, his mother being the first to greet him. They then drove in parade down Pennsylvania Avenue to the Washington Monument where he was welcomed by President Coolidge. In his speech the President voiced "the gratitude of the republic" referring to Lindbergh as "our ambassador without portfolio" and "a messenger of peace and good-will" whose achievement had "broken down the barriers of time and space and brought two great peoples into closer communion." He then awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross and a commission as Colonel in the Officer's Reserve Corps. Colonel Lindbergh replied that he brought from Europe the following message:

"You have seen the affection of the people of France for the people of America demonstrated to you. When you return to America take back that message to the people of the United States from the people of France and of Europe."

After the ceremonies Colonel Lindbergh had dinner with the President and attended the National Press Club reception at which various tributes were presented, including the Langley Medal of the Smithsonian Institute.

New York's Welcome

Lindbergh carried out his plan of flying from Washington to New York, but not, to his great regret, in his now famous airship, "The Spirit of St. Louis," the motor of which proved to have been temporarily damaged by salt moisture during the trip from Cherbourg to New York. He was given an army pursuit plane of the P-1 class, in which he made the flight (June 13.) He took off from Bolling Field at Washington at 9:54 A. M. The flight from Washington to Mitchel Field occupied exactly two hours and 4 minutes. At Mitchel Field he at once transferred to an Amphibian plane, in which he flew to the Narrows. There he descended and taxied toward the marine guard of honor awaiting him amid the wild tumult of a harbor that seemed to have gone mad with joy over his arrival. There were 400 ships in that guard, led by the municipal reception boat Macom, on which was Grover A. Whalen, Chairman of the Mayor's Reception Committee.

Lindbergh was at once transshipped by a police launch to the Macom. Amidst the cheering of a great throng, he landed at the Battery and after greeting his mother, was transferred to the automobile that brought him to the Mayor's stand at City Hall. There the Mayor expressed to him New York's welcome, telling him how highly the city regarded him and his epochal achievement, presented to him the City's Scroll of Honor and decorated him with the Medal of Valor of New York State. A great parade the length of Fifth Avenue amid a vast and continuous roar of applause from a surging ocean of people and beneath a storm of fluttering white paper, completed Lindbergh's public reception in New York.

Decorations and Honors

In recognition of his achievement Lindbergh received from four countries—France, Belgium, England and the United States—a number of high decorations and other honors. The list is as follows:

France—Cross of Legion of Honor.

Aero Club of France—Medal conferred only on distinguished aviators and 150,000 francs for cup, which he in turn gave to the Caisse de Secours de L'Aéronautique for the benefit of families of French fliers who have died.

Made Honorary Member of Lafayette Escadrille and Paris Post of American Legion.

Memorial plaque unveiled at the Gare Maritime in Cherbourg, near the spot where he entered France.

Belgium—Knight of Order of Leopold.

Belgium Aero Club—Médaille d'Or and Belgian Aviator Medal.

Gold Medal from the City of Brussels, conferred by the Burgomaster.

England—Air Force Cross.

Daily Mail gold aviation cup, instituted by Lord Northcliffe.

America—The Distinguished Flying Cross—awarded by President Coolidge.

The Langley Medal of the Smithsonian Institute.

Medal for Valor of the State of New York, awarded only eleven times.

The Hubbard Medal, the highest honor that can be bestowed on an American explorer, awarded by the National Geographic Society only seven times in its history.

Pashitch, the Last of the Balkan Pashas

By HAMILTON FISH ARMSTRONG
MANAGING EDITOR, *Foreign Affairs*

WHEN Nikola Pashitch was born some eighty years ago the Turkish flag still flew from the old citadel at Belgrade. His country was a remote mountain principality, cut off from the main currents of Europe, autonomous in hardly more than name, the plaything of Austrian, Russian and Turkish politics. Today Yugoslavia, stretching from the Julian Alps and the Adriatic to within a few miles of Saloniki, is considered the strongest power in Eastern Europe. It is a striking transformation to have taken place in one man's lifetime.

Last December Nikola Pashitch's body was borne slowly through the close packed streets of Belgrade. Ahead walked Alexander, King of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and the white-haired Patriarch of the Serbian Orthodox Church, both of whose titles had come into existence during Pashitch's days of power and owing more to his efforts than to those of any single other person. Behind followed almost every notable in the country, a representation of each arm of the preëminent Yugoslav army, and a great miscellaneous throng. There were peasants with the embroidered and encrusted jackets of Montenegro, the round red-crowned caps of the Lika, the conical sheepskin hats and woolly trousers of the Danube country below Semendria (like Bryan O'Lynn, "who'd no breeches to wear, so he got him a sheep's skin to make him a pair"), the red fezzes of Mostar or perhaps Sarajevo (for Kemal's edicts are not law there); even a band of Macedonian *komitadjis*.

Among the innumerable conventional offerings of sorrow so loved in the Balkans two were remarkable. They were a crown of thorns, sent by the students to symbolize the suffering of the wars through which Pashitch had led the Serbian people, and a silver cross from the Russian émigrés and soldiers of Wrangel's lost army, whom Serbia had befriended, with this inscription: "To the Greatest Slav." The estimate is not unprejudiced, but it shows how Pashitch will be regarded in the Balkans, probably for generations. He will enter into the catalogue of Serbian national heroes where are blazoned the illustrious names of Kraljevitch Marco and Czar Dushan and Kara George. And, according to the standards of his time and for the services he rendered his country, this probably is quite right.

His time was not the present and his services were done. He belonged to a day, already almost legendary, of bitter and ruthless struggle for the elementary principles of life and liberty; he identified himself with the spirit of a hardy people who had been fighting their way up from the Turkish depths only to find themselves on the verge of being engulfed in new waves of German and Magyar conquest. It was not a time for soft phrases and constitutional pleading. But by Balkan standards Pashitch was not only fearless but just, and he was never bloody or personally revengeful, though he had been in prison—more than once—and had served his years of exile.

Nikola Pashitch was born at Zayetchar, toward the Bulgarian border, on Dec. 17, some say of the year 1842, some say 1844, some say 1845. The exact date always was and will remain a matter of doubt, though in 1925 he permitted the celebration of his supposedly eightieth birthday. [In the course of an interview in the Summer of 1924 he allowed the writer to speak to him as being already "over eighty" without offering any contradiction.] There surely was Bulgar blood in him, and it is even said that he had an Armenian strain as well, though this has been indignantly denied. His life work was for the liberation and union of the Serbs; for the fate of their kinsmen, the Croats and Slovenes, he also cared, though in less degree. But in the narrower field his must be a major part of the glory for the whole latter part of the Serbian *risorgimento*. The instrumentality he chose was the Karageorgevitch dynasty, supported from without by Russia, pitted against the Obrenovitch dynasty, supported from without by Austria-Hungary. His old antagonist, Vladan Georgevitch, in whose arms King Milan Obrenovitch died, survives him,

though three or four years his elder. They were alike in their age, battered relics of an uncompromising day. Vladan Georgevitch has lived to see the success of the policy he openly opposed and the consummation of the ends which he always maintained that he favored. Pashitch lived to see his policies as well as his objectives crowned with success.

Revolutionary Ideas

Pashitch received the more important part of his education in Switzerland, where he came into contact with the Russian radicals who made Geneva and Zurich their headquarters. From them he learned the philosophy of revolution as well as the Russian language, though he never spoke it or any other foreign tongue with ease or accuracy. His enemies said that his inability to express himself adequately even in Serbian was an art which he religiously cultivated so that in emergencies he might claim to have been misunderstood or misquoted. Whether Pashitch's halting manner in private conversation (in public on occasion he spoke with emphasis and to great effect) was assumed or natural, there can be no doubt about his ineptitude for foreign tongues. His French always stumbled and often fell, and even when it was going best it had a terrible accent and was punctuated by a disconcerting *comme ça* every half dozen words or so.

From the Russian exiles he also absorbed strong Slavic enthusiasms and a high distrust for Vienna and all its works. His first opportunity for serving the Slavic cause came in 1881, when the Serbian ruler, Milan Obrenovitch, signed a secret military agreement with Austria-Hungary renouncing Serbian hopes in Bosnia in return for support against Bulgaria. The peasants, whose emotions and reasoning Pashitch thoroughly understood, were aroused by reports of this action and by the Government's repression of demonstrations of sympathy in favor of the Serbs and Croats, who were becoming restless under Magyar rule. This discontent was exploited by the Radical Party, which Pashitch joined in founding.

Milan seems to have been led to throw his fortunes into the Austrian pot by his jealousy of Nicholas of Montenegro, a canny and masterful Slav whose patriotic verse hymned the Czar of all the Russias, and by a dislike for Prince Peter of the rival house of Karageorgevitch, who had married Nicholas's daughter. It was a natural consequence that the Radical Party, and Pashitch among its leaders, should have become hostile toward Milan personally and partisans of the rival dynasty. In 1883 a rebellion broke out in and about Pashitch's native village of Zayetchar. He was implicated, captured and condemned to be shot, but his punishment was changed to imprisonment. He escaped from prison and fled across the frontier into Bulgaria, whence he effectively added to the flames of the Serbian peasantry's discontent with their frivolous ruler. In 1885 Milan recklessly engineered a war against Bulgaria and met with a disaster from which he was saved only by Austrian support. He now was openly the agent of Vienna in the Balkan arena. Personal scandals added to his unpopularity, and in 1889 he abdicated in favor of his young son, Alexander, who came to the throne under a regency.

In these circumstances the Radical Party found its first opportunity to assert its strength, and Nikola Pashitch for the first time held the post of Prime Minister. He relinquished power as a result of a dispute with the Regents, and again spent a period in jail, but in 1893 was sent by King Alexander as Minister to Russia, where he worked vigorously to persuade the Czar to transfer part of his friendship and patronage from Bulgaria to Serbia. Alexander's follies and crimes, personal as well as public, led at length to the brutal assassination of 1903 and to the summoning of the Karageorgevitch dynasty, in the person of King Peter, to replace the Obrenovitchs, whose line was at last fortunately extinct. Despite frequent efforts, no connection has been established between Pashitch and those who assassinated Alexander and the adventuress who had succeeded in becoming his royal consort. Nor when Pashitch accepted King Peter's offer of the post of Prime Minister a year later did he favor the army clique chiefly responsible for the deed; instead he forced them completely out of public life and set to work to rehabilitate Serbia's good reputation in Europe and to devise a possible course by which she might resist Austrian and Magyar aggression and retain—if not expand—her independent heritage.

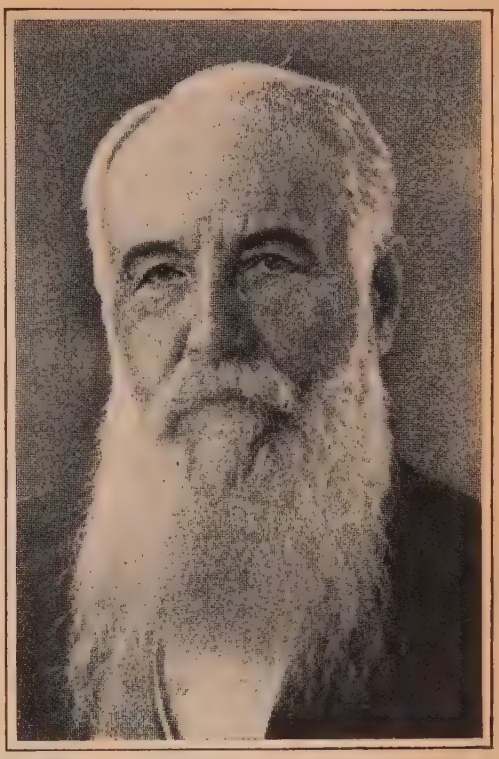
From now on Nikola Pashitch, from being a radical and revolutionary, becomes the most stubbornly constant factor in Serbia's new constitutional existence. There was no variation or turning in his devotion to the Slav ideal, to the Karageorgevitch family, and above all to Serbia, in whose peasant soil his roots were so deeply sunk.

As was to be expected, the new régime was constantly at odds with Vienna. The

Austrian General Staff had come to realize that their way to Saloniki lay through Belgrade. Alternate routes through the mountains of Novibazar were discarded. This meant that instead of being circumvented Serbia must be tempted or crushed into vassalage. Pashitch could never be tempted. He proved himself hard to crush, but many efforts were made. The first was the "Pig War" of 1905, which was designed by Austria-Hungary to bring Serbia to her knees by economic pressure. Serbia resisted successfully, and the principal result was to teach her the need of access to the sea. Her hope of achieving this lay in the unredeemed Slav provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which Austria was occupying by virtue of the Treaty of Berlin, but which still were technically part of the Ottoman Empire. Every patriotic Serb looked on them as the bridge that must unite Serbia with Montenegro and thus win a way to the blue waters of the Adriatic. In 1908 Aehrenthal, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, took advantage of the Young Turk Revolution, coupled with Ferdinand of Bulgaria's assumption of the title of Czar, to proclaim the abrogation of the Sultan's sovereignty over Bosnia and Herzegovina and the annexation of those provinces to the Habsburg crown. This blow was a severe one, but Russia was broken and impotent and without her help the Serbs could do nothing but complain and devote themselves to hating Vienna and Budapest more than ever.

But though Pashitch saw on the wall the handwriting of perpetual conflict with the Dual Monarchy, he knew how uneven were the odds and never for a moment encouraged the bombast of the Belgrade press. During the Bosnian crisis, and during the famous crisis that arose when Dr. Friedjung presented his spurious "proofs" of Serbia's plotting against Austria-Hungary, Pashitch exerted a moderating influence at the same time that he tried to discipline the national spirit and improve his country's relations with the Entente Powers.

To the South, too, Serbia faced grave difficulties. The contrary invocations of history made by Serbs, Bulgars and Greeks to support their rival claims to the Turkish inheritance in Macedonia, gave opportunities for intrigue which the interested Powers did not neglect. Serbia was surrounded by the Austrian and Russian net; she knew her enemies, but she could not trust even her friends. When it became clear to every Balkan statesman that the Young Turk would do no more for the



THE LATE NIKOLA PASHITCH
Many times Prime Minister of Serbia and Yugoslavia

Christian population of Turkey-in-Europe than Abdul Hamid had done, the forces of the Balkan States were united momentarily to wipe Macedonia and Western Thrace clear of the garrisons that had been in occupation since the son of Osman led the way across the Hellespont five hundred years before. Premier Pashitch contributed largely to the successful planning of this union of forces in the so-called Balkan League, which in 1912 and 1913 changed the map of Southeastern Europe in so startling a manner. But the price paid by Serbia after the second Balkan war for the consummation of some of her hopes in Macedonia (towards the Adriatic they were check-mated by Austria) was the open hostility of Bulgaria. Pashitch assumed the risk open-eyed. He knew the Serbian victory over Bulgaria had put the court and governing clique at Sofia definitely in Vienna's pocket. He probably did not realize, however, that in a greater struggle that loomed dimly ahead, his knowledge of Bulgar sentiments would be brushed aside so lightly by his optimistic, because igno-

rant, great allies. The 1915 blow from the Bulgar front, of which Pashitch gave eloquent, constant, and entirely unheeded warning in London and Paris, was indeed nearly mortal. But, after weird gyrations, the die he had cast in 1913 at length turned up a lucky face. The Habsburg throne crashed with its own weight; the Turk departed, leaving hardly a physical trace behind; Serb Macedonia became Serbian, and the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes became one nation for the first time in the thousand years since they beat their way westward into the Danubian plains and southward into the Balkan valleys.

The Sarajevo Plot

Many shipwrecks had somehow to be survived before this goal was reached. Throughout the whole story Pashitch's name is the principal one. When Count Berchtold's ultimatum was received that July morning in Belgrade, Premier Pashitch was not in the capital. But in the discussion that led to the decision to die fighting his word was the most determined and, had any of his colleagues really hesitated, would have proved decisive. Since the war his name has been constantly mentioned by the "revisionist" historians in connection with the plots that resulted in the Sarajevo assassination of the heir to the Austrian throne. One of his former colleagues, Ljuba Jovanovitch, alleged that Pashitch and his colleagues had heard rumors of the plot, but that they took ineffective measures to prevent the plotters from crossing over into Bosnia in pursuit of their mission, and then relapsed into inactivity and hopeful suspense. Some believe that Jovanovitch intended merely to promote his own popularity at home by linking himself with the Sarajevo conspirators, who, when all is said and done, did perform the act which eventually, even though at such terrible cost, led to the creation of the Yugoslav State. This interpretation would be in consonance with the statement made by Pashitch to the writer when he questioned him, in the Spring of 1925, regarding the Jovanovitch "revelation," and Pashitch replied: "It is a lie. Ljuba may be sorry that a lie which he told for political purposes has hurt the country. That makes it no better. It is a lie."

In this whole matter Pashitch acted much as he acted when his son was accused, two or three years ago, of having traded on his father's name in persuading Government officials to favor the concessionaires who employed him as a high-salaried lobbyist. Pashitch said briefly to his friends that he himself was not implicated and that he was sure the Serbian peasants would never think he was; with that he shrugged his shoulders ever so slightly, and retired into a patriarchal shell from which no parliamentary or press attacks ever dislodged him. The motives in each case were similar —disdain for his enemies, skepticism that what they might say could harm him, and a belief that in family life the views of the head of the family are privileged, and that in political life time cures more wounds than ever one can open in an enemy's hide by the spearhead of polemical attack. This was doubtless sound reasoning in the Serbian village, even in national politics in an obscure primitive country where personalities counted for everything. By the time it might have been well for him to change, to be more direct and explicit, to fear the dangers of modern "publicity" and take more advantage of its opportunities, he was too old.

Of the precise hopes for the future nourished by Pashitch during the World War opinions have differed, and will differ. There can be no doubt that the Greater Serbia which for decades had been before his eyes, played a larger part in his scheme of things than many Croats and Slovenes wished. Even since the war more than one Serbian, viewing the difficulties facing his new country, has felt like throwing up his hands, telling Raditch and his irresponsible Croat following to go to the devil, and turning to the formation of a more compact State out of the truly Serb lands—Serbia, northern Macedonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro and southern Dalmatia. This was what Pashitch himself long had wanted, and for this he was ready to lead Serbia through the brilliant but hopeless campaigns of 1914 and 1915, the agonies of the ensuing retreat through Albania, the dreary exile at Corfu, the fresh combats on the Saloniki front. When a wider vista opened before him he was willing to venture forward, but only after prodding and without enthusiasm. Once embarked on this course, however, he had no thought of turning back. As early as July 20, 1917, he signed at Corfu, jointly with Dr. Trumbitch, President of the Yugoslav Committee, the famous declaration which proclaimed the intention of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes to form "a free and independent kingdom, with indivisible territory and unity of allegiance," including "all the territory inhabited compactly and in territorial continuity by our nation of the

Wide World

ALEXANDER I

King of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. Born on Dec. 17, 1888, he was Prince Regent from June, 1914, to August, 1921, when his father, King Peter I, died and he succeeded to the throne of the Yugoslav State into which Serbia had expanded

three names," and "under the Karageorgevitch dynasty."

So far was Pashitch willing to go in substituting a Yugoslavia for his more familiar Serbia, but the pressure of his personal convictions and the prestige of Serbian arms combined from the start to give to Serbia a status of *primus inter pares* (first among equals) which has not since been altered. He pressed relentlessly for an efficient national army to oppose the schemes of disgruntled friends and revengeful enemies on every frontier, for an effective national finance control to cope with the serious economic problems of reconstruction, for a supreme foreign office at Belgrade to establish diplomatic relations abroad and impress on an unaccustomed Europe the necessity of heeding the demands of a new State boasting 12,500,000 inhabitants and covering over 96,000,000 square miles.

The "Yugoslav Idea"

To this task of centralization and consolidation he turned all his energies, all his great powers of negotiation, persuasion, intrigue. In such work he felt himself at home, and, over all obstacles put in his path by dissatisfied partisans of a more loosely federalized scheme of things, he succeeded. The Constitution of 1921 was his work and the work of his friends. It may be altered, will almost surely be altered, to meet the demands of different conditions in different sections of the country; in the matter of education alone, for example, it is obviously incongruous to enforce the same laws and provide the same facilities in Slovenia, where the people are about 85 per cent. literate, as in "Old" Serbia, where less than 20 per cent. are literate. But Pashitch believed that the first task was to make one country out of three peoples who, though of the same racial stock and speaking almost an identical language, yet had different traditions and habits and had been trained in different political schools. Enemies of his policy of centralization, in Croatia in particular, attacked him bitterly. But Italy's hostility was an enormous help, a constant reminder that only in union could there be strength. Even Raditch at length came to Belgrade and joined a coalition in which members of Pashitch's Radical Party were predominant, though he never made peace with him personally and was the one man of national importance who absented himself from the capital the day of the chieftain's funeral.

There was always current in Belgrade a fresh stock of stories about old Pashitch.

When he was long past 70 and already white bearded he could still dance the *Kolo* with the most sprightly of the younger members of his family. He had an impressive face with active, knowing, cheerful eyes. His solid shoulders filled out squarely his invariable black broadcloth. His shoes were square-toed and heavy; he was of medium height and stood firmly on his feet, though hunching slightly forward. His hands were short, heavily veined and brown. His whole appearance was of a man of the soil—courteous, cautious, impassive, inflexible. He was most contented when alone. He liked to sit by himself and think and plan, slowly and quietly. Outside his office crowds of secretaries and would-be visitors congregated; inside he would be found sitting peacefully, the curtains in the windows half drawn, his hands folded on the desk, his white head motionless in front of the brilliant red Pirot rug that hung on the wall. His house was simple but furnished in unusually good taste; there was no display, no flaunting of a success to which his peasant forebears had not been accustomed. He never could be hurried out of his calm and had a slow but penetrating retort for everybody. The writer asked him once whether he thought royal marriages had much effect on national destinies. He replied yes, and for that reason he had decided to remain Prime Minister until it became time to arrange the marriage of little Crown Prince Peter, then less than a year old.

A Serbian caricature showing the late Emperor Franz Josef and Count Berchtold rejoicing over the ultimatum to Serbia, with Nikola Pashitch and a crown of thorns in the background

After the attempt on his life in 1923, when he was wounded by a shot fired through the rear window of his automobile, Pashitch rode in a motor with frosted glass windows through which possible assassins could not see to take aim. It is bad enough to traverse the streets of Belgrade in any manner, but to go whirling around in an opaque glass box over ruts and gullies, always at a terrific pace, might have strained the nerves even of one not an octogenarian. He did not seem to mind, however, even though he had had two bad automobile accidents in the last years of his life. When the writer saw him in 1922 he was still bandaged tightly from one of these accidents and had to be helped in and out of his chair.

His lack of linguistic ability was matched by his bad memory. He was as indifferent to the one failing as to the other. On a certain American anniversary during the period of exile at Corfu the Premier was called on to make a speech. He ceased caressing his beard and raised his glass deliberately. "To President Wilson," he said, "and to our friends the — the — English." Fortunately, he was speaking in Serbian, and as the interpreter corrected the slip without a smile the Americans present were none the wiser.

The influence exercised by Pashitch over the peasants was absolute and unalterable.

They listened to his opponents, shook their heads and said, "*Zna Baja sta radi*" ("Father knows what he's doing"). When he died on the eve of again assuming the reins of office they probably still said to each other with unwavering belief, "*Zna Baja sta radi.*" If so, they were not altogether wrong. His work was done and a new cycle had opened. Though in his old age Pashitch may have pressed his political views too insistently and too far, today from under his iron hand the unity of the Yugoslav State has emerged a settled and accepted fact. It will perhaps be easier now to loosen the bonds, give wider local autonomies, pay more heed to provincial sensibilities, than it would have been in the first place to cement the new national elements into an unaccustomed whole with a solder less tough than his inflexible determination.

Masaryk's Re-election as President of Czechoslovakia

By SIMEON STRUNSKY
EDITORIAL STAFF OF *The New York Times*

THOMAS GARRIGUE MASARYK was elected President of the Czechoslovak Republic for a second term of seven years on May 27, 1927. He received a substantial majority in the National Assembly, but was far from obtaining the unanimous vote which the casual observer might have predicted for the man who has been called "the Father of His Country." Half a hundred hostile Communist votes are easily enough explained, but harder to account for are more than 100 blank ballots. Part of the reason will be found in the fact that 80 per cent. of the German members of the National Assembly voted for Masaryk. Because the Germans were rallying to the President, we may take it that on the other side of the racial fence the irreconcilable Slav elements were registering dissent.

To the "realist" Masaryk this shift in his political support must have been far from unwelcome. Last October he succeeded in bringing the Germans into the Cabinet for the first time since the establishment of the republic. This meant the beginning of a solution to what he must undoubtedly regard as the outstanding problem that will confront his country during his lifetime (he is now 77)—that is, the conversion of the most important racial minority in Czechoslovakia from sullen opposition to direct participation in the national life. Of a total population of less than 14,000,000 the Germans number more than 3,000,000, and their social and cultural role is greater than their numerical ratio. Thus it is given to President Masaryk, as his activity draws to a close in the natural course of events, to foresee the complete realization of his ideal for his country—"equality of races within a democracy."

The Czechoslovak State is an exception to the generalization, "Happy is the nation whose annals are brief." Bohemia Restituta has had more than her share of post-war publicity, but it has been a tale in striking contrast with the general Central European record of strike, crisis and uneasy apprehension. From the moment of its rebirth nine years ago the country has remained the most consistently cheerful spot on the map of Europe. The infant diseases of nationhood that have racked the other Succession States have seemingly passed her by. But it is a case of healthy resistance rather than immunity, for the familiar problems were there. Czechoslovakia had—and still has—her racial minority problem, for example, but it has not been productive of anything like the stress and turmoil that have attended the same question in Poland, Rumania, Yugoslavia. She was the first country in Central Europe to face courageously the problem of currency deflation. As far back as 1922, when the German mark was just embarking on its dizzy slide into nothingness, the Czechs stopped printing paper money, balanced their budget and cheerfully paid the price in economic depression and severe unemployment—happily not lasting. The Czechs have not escaped excesses

of parliamentarism—there are fifteen political "parties" in a Chamber of 300 Deputies —but there have been no parliamentary crises. A coalition has always been found to govern the country.

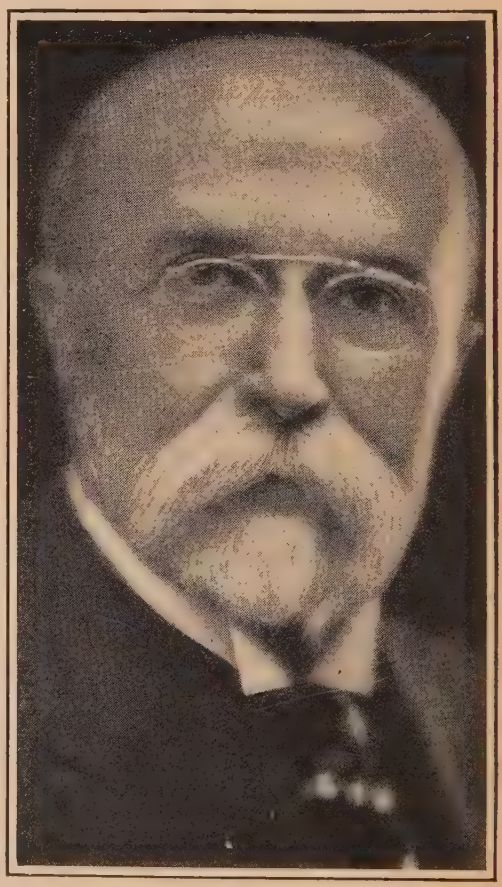
This record would seem to be all the more remarkable when it is recalled that the new Czechoslovakia was not built up by Masaryk around an existing political nucleus. Yugoslavia is an expansion of Serbia. Pre-war Rumania became Greater Rumania. To be sure there was no Poland before the war, but the last insurrection of the Polish people was in 1863, well within the memory of living men. Bohemia's independence disappeared almost exactly 300 years before the Armistice, in the battle of the White Mountain in 1620. Of the new or augmented nations launched in Central Europe by the victory of the Allies, one would have said that the severest trial awaited the nation with the smallest experience or the most distant memory of independence. Just the opposite has happened. Czechoslovakia may be said to have sprung full-grown from the brain—and the heart—of Thomas Masaryk. From the first she has walked with a firm, adult step.

Product of Masaryk's Genius

The explanation is to be sought in the happy combination of a highly gifted people and inspired leadership, though possibly the two factors may be resolved into one. In Thomas Masaryk, the coachman's son and locksmith's apprentice, who had won a foremost place among European savants before he became the leader of a national *risorgimento*, are exemplified the virtues of his people. In this westernmost branch of the Slav stock we find few of the traditional traits of the Slav, a word which popular usage has made almost synonymous with Russian. Tenacity, discipline, capacity for organization, and, above all, a sturdy "realism" are the very opposite of the characteristic manifestations of the "broad Slav nature," that is to say, of the Russian nature. It is not necessary to enter here into an examination of the forces that have shaped an original common heredity into two such contrasting products as Russian passivity and unworldliness and Czech steadfastness and common-sense. Undoubtedly long centuries of competition and clash with Germanic neighbors have been the chief formative cause. After all, the raw material with which Masaryk had to work was the people of John Hus and not the uncultured masses of the Romanovs and Orthodoxy.

The thing to note is that in Masaryk is manifested the national Czech type—Puritan, fighter and realist. The last is the name that came to be attached to the political group of which he became the leader at the beginning of the present century. It was not the realism which traffics with expediencies of the moment, but which applies the test of common sense to basic principles and long-distance problems. Masaryk was a Radical, because he found the chief opponents of Czech nationalism in the camp of the Conservatives and the Church. But he was outspoken in his rejection of the doctrines of Karl Marx, under whose weight the greatest of the Slav peoples now lies prostrate.

Courage, tenacity, vision sum up Masaryk and through him the Czech people. Courage in his early professor days to challenge the absurdities of an inflated nationalism;



THOMAS G. MASARYK
President of the Czechoslovak Republic

courage later to expose and denounce the iniquities of the Habsburg bureaucracy in the celebrated Friedjung forgery trial; and, above all, courage in combination with vision that led him shortly after the outbreak of the World War to make the cause of his country one with the cause of the Allies. In October, 1914, he formulated for his people a program of all or nothing, either full independence with an Allied victory or complete extinction. Four years of apostolic travels in Europe, Siberia and the United States, four years of propaganda and organization culminated in dramatic success. When the war broke out people discussed the probability of an independent Poland, of a "redeemed" Serbia and Rumania. Very few people thought—or knew—of Czechoslovakia. Yet before the peace treaties which brought Poland into being, before the Armistice even, the Allies recognized Masaryk's National Council as the *de facto* Government of an independent Czechoslovakia.

That dramatic achievement stands to the credit of Masaryk's people as well as of the leader. Czech nationality and independence profited greatly by the episode of the Czechoslovak Army in Russia. This army Masaryk had been instrumental in organizing in May, 1917, out of Czech prisoners captured under the Habsburg flag. When the Russian front collapsed after the fall of the Czar, the Czechs stood firm. When the Bolshevist régime made peace with Germany the Czechoslovaks began their famous trek across Russia and Siberia to the western front by way of Japan. It was a performance that was bound to win for the future Czech State the warm sympathy of the Allied peoples and the admiration of every one. That same steadfastness and discipline will account for the post-war record of the Czechoslovak State. The Masaryk who could play so resolutely with the Czech armies which he created is the Masaryk who has as resolutely guided the peace-time destinies of the nation he created.

Premier Taschereau of Quebec

By OWEN E. McGILLICUDDY
CANADIAN JOURNALIST

THE re-election, on May 16, of the Liberal Government in the Province of Quebec under the leadership of the Hon. L. A. Taschereau, by an overwhelming majority, shows convincingly how the French-Canadian Premier is regarded by all classes in his native province. Quebec is prosperous, and this, with the picturesque personality of its Premier, provides the logical answer to the result. In fact, Taschereau himself provides his own issue, for he has built up a leadership which he maintains more absolutely than any other provincial Premier. In Ontario and Manitoba and the far western provinces the elections are largely battles of statistics—figures of revenue, figures about debt, about taxation, about agriculture or about good roads. But in Quebec they prefer colorful personalities.

Louis Alexandre Taschereau has that kind of personality. His strength is rooted in firmer soil than mere rhetorical ability or political agility, for he is the chief of the "habitants" (originally French-Canadian colonists or planters) whose virtues he represents and whose hopes he personifies. The name Taschereau is one to conjure with in Quebec. Every "habitant" knows the name and feels a Taschereau can do no wrong. For the "habitant" is at heart a hero worshiper. He loves a picturesque leader, he admires intellectual power and he likes the color of pomp and circumstance in his politics.

Mr. Taschereau is the last surviving aristocrat in the Canadian Government. Throughout the Province he is known as "*Le bon Taschereau, le grand seigneur.*" For two centuries the Taschereau family has been giving eminent men to Canadian public life, having a tradition to the effect that "one finds the greatest pleasure by giving the greatest service." And the present Premier of Quebec is maintaining the tradition.

The Premier of Quebec has a keen conception of his responsibilities and duties. With him politics is not a game but a form of national service. Time and again he has asked the young men of Quebec to take

a practical interest in the affairs of state and to prove their citizenship by assuming responsibilities, and he has trained his own sons to go into politics, believing that the Government of his province and his country should be in the hands of men who are educated to its problems. He does not believe in a loose or a slipshod democracy, nor does he hold that efficiency in administration should be sacrificed to abstract theories. He is a Liberal who believes in absolute leadership, for while he has Ministers who discharge the details of each department, he keeps firmly in his own hands the central and controlling authority. No provincial Premier in Canada gives so much time to his duties as does this slim, serious-minded man. Five nights out of every week one can find him at his desk working away far into the night. Except for an occasional trip to England for the purpose of pleading some case for his province before the Privy Council, he is never away from his office. Cultured, charming and witty, he is much sought after by Quebec hostesses, but he always leaves the company by 10 o'clock to atone for his brief dissipation by later labors at his office.

Not only is Mr. Taschereau Premier of the Province, but he is also its very active Attorney General. He entered the legal profession thirty-six years ago; he has pleaded before all the courts of justice, is a master in the art of cross-examination and is considered one of the most eminent lawyers in the Dominion.

Favors Canada's Present Status

Premier Taschereau is an insistent advocate of British connections and believes in bringing appeals to the Privy Council as a court of last resort. In an address given in the Convocation Hall of the University of Toronto on receiving the degree of LL. D. he declared:

> The French-Canadian was the first, and will be the last, Canadian. The love of the fields he had cultivated and the lure of the mighty rivers and dense forests he had conquered was stronger than the appeal of old France. Having been the first Canadian he wants to remain such. While other Canadians are British by birth their surroundings are by sentiment. He is British by reason and interest.
>
> The appeal to the Privy Council is a tie, one of the last ties, we are sometimes told, between Canada and the mother country. A tie may be broken by pulling on any one of its ends. Quebec will not pull on her end, but let us hope there will not be too many unwise pullers on the other ends.
>
> The Canadian nation cannot endure unless all our provinces are true to a broad Canadianism whereby the two great races which are the basic elements of our nation, will work together for the common weal in union and harmony, always respecting the language and institutions, the rights and feelings, each of the other. This applies also to religion.

While the Premier of Quebec is attached to the ancient faith of his people, he is by no means an ultramontane. No one in Quebec can more firmly resist where he feels the Church is encroaching on State rights.

Next to his passion for the province which he governs, Taschereau is intensely Canadian. He recognizes the diverse elements which constitute Canada—the elements of race and creed. Canada, he holds, is a country of opposites, a continual conflict between the old and the new. "The 'habitant' knows well that Canada's future status must be our present one, independence, or annexation to the United States," he declares. He dreads annexation, having learned that French Louisiana lost all that he wants to retain when it fell into the American melting pot. He fears independence, well aware that the helping hand of England could no longer protect his laws and other things which he dearly loves. The present régime has taught him that under the British tie he has found liberty, freedom and an unhampered development. This tie he will retain for many years to come.

The French-Canadian people are proud of "*Le bon Taschereau.*" He is the "*grand seigneur*" among his own people—a combination of idealist, dreamer and practical administrator. He has kept his administration free from scandal and has established a wholesome habit of annual budget surpluses, while his government steadily increases the expenditures in the cause of education. He is a unique figure in modern public life, for he believes and acts as if the religious and moral welfare of his people are of more importance than their material prosperity.

[RECENT SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS]

The Latest Conquests of Disease

By WATSON DAVIS

MANAGING EDITOR, *Science Service*, WASHINGTON, D. C.

THE conquest of disease progresses by siege tactics. Slight gains are made over a long period of time, but the enemy is weakened little by little. Finally the defenses of disease fall and medicine holds sway over previously unsafe terrain. At present in laboratories and hospitals attacks are being made on practically every disease that afflicts mankind. Encouraging reports are being received upon the progress that is being made in bringing some diseases under control.

Pernicious anemia, a disease that almost always is fatal, may be the next to come within the control of science. And ordinary beef liver is the source of the material being used in the treatment. Scientists at Harvard University have established that a diet rich in liver promptly increases the number of red blood corpuscles in patients with this disease and they are now endeavoring to isolate the active principle in liver. Lack of this principle apparently prevents patients with pernicious anemia from manufacturing red blood cells. Last year Dr. George R. Minot and Dr. William P. Murphy of the Collis P. Huntington Memorial Hospital of Harvard University and the Peter Bent Brigham Hospital reported the successful treatment of patients with a diet containing large amounts of liver. More than fifty patients have now been successfully treated for from one to three years with a diet containing approximately 200 grams of liver a day. Even if the individual with pernicious anemia knows that he is the gainer thereby, a daily diet of liver in the quantities necessary to replenish the blood with red corpuscles is difficult to take for a long time. Consequently a small dose of liver extract daily that does as much good as 300 grams or more of the whole liver represents a big advance in the treatment of this disease. The causes of this fairly common malady are unknown, though it is believed by some that a predisposition toward it is inheritable. This disease should not be confused with anemia due to common causes.

Dr. E. J. Cohn and his collaborators in the Department of Physical Chemistry in the Harvard Medical School have isolated a non-protein, non-fat containing a fraction of liver that promptly produces young red blood cells and permits the total number of red blood cells to increase. Dr. Minot and Dr. Murphy are determining the effectiveness and the clinical uses of the successively purified extracts that are being prepared. The scientists report that the most concentrated preparation that has thus far been administered produced about four times its weight of erythrocytes, or red blood cells, within a fortnight. An effective daily dose amounts to about one-third of an ounce, or 10 grams. Nine patients with pernicious anemia have been fed the extract with entire success during the past months. The chemists are still uncertain as to the exact amount of the effective substance in the liver extract, since, despite the fact that the purification has proceeded far, a large part of the material in the present mixture may eventually prove to be inert. After further purification it may be possible to isolate the chemical substance or substances that are specifically involved and thereby learn more of the reactions and of the physiological mechanisms that are disturbed in this disease. The development of the use of liver extract in the treatment of pernicious anemia may be as important in its way as the outstanding achievement in the treatment of diabetes three years ago by the use of insulin, an extract of a particular part of the pancreas. Physicians and scientists are watching the clinical trials of the Harvard liver extract with great interest.

DISCOVERY OF TRACHOMA GERM

The eye disease, trachoma, may soon be brought under control as the result of the work done by Dr. Hideyo Noguchi of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, who, at the annual meeting of the American Medical Association this Spring, reported the successful isolation of what appears to be the causative organism of trachoma and the infection of monkeys with an identical disease. This first step in the conquest of trachoma is hailed as a new major medical

achievement by the Japanese-American scientist, who also is the conqueror of yellow fever, having isolated and cultivated the cause, and developed the preventive vaccine and curative serum. He has also contributed in the subduing of syphilis, smallpox, rabies and oroya fever. Only for a year has Dr. Noguchi been working on the trachoma problem with the cooperation of Dr. Polk Richards of the United States Office of Indian Affairs, having become interested in the problem through Dr. F. I. Proctor of Boston. Five Indians of the Albuquerque (N. M.) Indian School, about to undergo operations for trachoma, furnished the material for the experiments. Monkeys were infected with the disease, first from cultures obtained from the Indians and then from other monkeys. A gram-negative bacillus, motile under certain conditions, was identified as the probable cause of the disease. A preventive vaccine and curative serum have not yet been made, but this is the next logical step in the investigation. Trachoma is a result of unhygienic living and one of the few diseases that absolutely prohibit an immigrant from entering the United States. It is widely prevalent in Egypt, Asia and among the Indians of this country. Of 38,111 Indians in the Southwest examined for trachoma in the fiscal year ended June 30, 1925, 7,236 were found to be suffering from it, and among these it was found necessary to operate on 4,285. About 19 per cent. of the Indians of the Southwest, it has been estimated, are afflicted with the disease.

Treatment of Other Diseases

By setting one disease upon another encouraging progress has been made in the control and treatment of paresis, a condition of general paralysis caused by syphilis. The paresis patient is infected with malaria and the fever resulting kills the spirochetes that infect his brain and spinal cord. Nearly miraculous recoveries have been reported. It is sometimes difficult, however, to control the malaria. For this reason, Dr. M. M. Kunde, Dr. George W. Hall and Dr. F. J. Gerty of Chicago have injected foreign proteins into the paresis patients to raise a fever that will make it too hot for the spirochetes. This improvement promises to make paresis a less dangerous and hopeless disease.

To the cancer victim, Dr. Henry J. Ullman of Santa Barbara, Cal., brings hope in the form of experiments combining the standard X-ray treatment of cancers with injections of a new lead compound. In England the Blair-Bell treatment of cancer by colloidal lead has been reported as somewhat successful. Dr. Ullman uses a phosphate compound of lead which he believes weakens the malignant cells of cancer and allows the X-rays to be more effective. This lead compound has the advantage of being stable and less poisonous than those used in England, but Dr. Ullman emphasized the necessity of further experimentation upon animals and great care in human applications.

Nephritis, a diseased condition of the kidney, and heart lesions associated with heart disease, have heretofore puzzled medical research workers because they have been unable to produce them experimentally in animals except by serious operations. In the exhibit that won the gold medal at the American Medical Association, Dr. F. W. Hartman, Dr. Adolph Bolliger and Dr. H. P. Doub of the Henry Ford Hospital, Detroit, showed that these conditions can be caused by heavy doses of X-rays. This is an important step in the understanding of the disease since it must first be possible to produce a disease in experimental animals in order to attempt to cure it.

From California there comes a report of a new use for extract of the thyroid gland. Dr. William J. Kerr, Dr. George N. Hosford and Dr. H. C. Shepherdson of the University of California have found that several of their cases of cataracts in elderly people have improved vision after the administration of thyroid extract. Senile cataracts are thought to occur in individuals in whom a general breakdown of the body forces is under way and consequently any agent, such as thyroid substance, that tones up the whole system, is likely to be helpful in improving the impaired vision. The doctors are careful to state that cataracts may remain stationary for years and even clear up upon occasion without treatment, thereby making it difficult to prove the actual value of any curative procedure that may be undertaken. They have, however, obtained such good results from this method that it may develop into a new weapon of attack against this insidious form of blindness.

[OUTSTANDING EVENTS OF THE MONTH]

Amateur Diplomacy

By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

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THE month has been full of big events which tread on each other's heels and which will be remembered for many years to come. Today highest high-water on the Mississippi, suddenly made lower by engulfing the surrounding country. Tomorrow the first New York-to-Paris airplane flight, which suddenly makes a world-wide figure of the good "honest-to-God," straightforward American, Lindbergh, gallant, fearless, notable, leading the world in air courage and success. A few days later a second air flight, likewise gallant, fearless and notable, made by Chamberlin and Levine. The day before yesterday President Butler discovers that for President Coolidge to be a candidate for a third term would be illogical, for defect of major premises; which, of course, puts President Coolidge out of the counting. A few days later Senator Smoot believes on his sacred honor that Coolidge will run again and will shortly announce his purpose.

The biggest governmental proposition of the month was that made by Professor James T. Shotwell of Columbia University to take a kind of contract to insure peace to the afflicted world by a new system of arbitration. Professor Shotwell is one of the authors of the Geneva Protocol, which was eagerly taken up, particularly by the small States in the League of Nations, because it seemed to give a right to call on the armies of larger Powers to defend their little neighbors from aggression. He was also a member of the Columbia group of professors which united with a similar Princeton group to save the country once for all by scaling the debts of foreign nations, particularly of France.

This system of applying pressure to the United States Government through organizations in which college men are the protagonists goes back of the World War. The method has been followed by the American Society of International Law, and particularly the peace propaganda work of the Carnegie Institution in Washington and the so-called American Institute of International Law. These bodies are all manned by the same personnel, including professors of international law, publicists and a miscellaneous element of people that want to make the international world better. The activities of these bodies are directed by a few distinguished and active men, particularly James Brown Scott, who has great influence in the plans of the Carnegie Institution to get to the bottom of international law.

The ruling motive in all these movements is the belief that the State Department, the Secretary of State, the Diplomatic Corps, and, if you go back far enough, the President of the United States, are all incompetent. The foundation of the whole matter is the conviction that the foreign policy of the United States is not wisely or properly carried on and that people entirely outside of the Government service are qualified and entitled to give first-class advice to the President, the Senate, the State Department and all others in authority.

The particular proposition made by Professor Shotwell and his associates goes back in part to the diplomacy of the late Secretary of State William J. Bryan, particularly his series of arbitration treaties of 1913 to 1915. These treaties called out fierce denunciation from Theodore Roosevelt, who asked what was the use of agreeing to arbitrate every question that might be in dispute between two nations, when it was perfectly clear that there were questions which the United States would never arbitrate? In the history of the United States the President and others designated to carry on the foreign relations of the United States have not been fond of diplomatic panaceas. They always must be thinking in terms of the future, and the long future.

The fundamental weakness in the new plan of arbitration is that it is based on a theory of the causes of war which is not justified by history. It is not true that great nations go to war on very small questions which ought to be easily settled by negotiation or by arbitration. Notwithstanding the modern school of historians of the World War, who have discovered that the Germans were forced into war sorely against their will, there are still people who believe that the underlying causes of the World War had been accumulating for cen-

turies, and involved interests of such a nature that no general agreement could be made which could satisfy the great and powerful nations. For example, there is no permanent peace, there can be no permanent peace in Asia Minor and Europe and Turkey. The first Russian attack on Constantinople was in the year 1000, and the Russian will not be happy till he gets the Dardanelles.

There is something alluring about the Shotwell plan. It seems so easy. All you have to do is to set up a machinery for outlawing war and, presto, serious international controversies will disappear! The phrase in the Shotwell treaty is singular: Nations must not resort to war as an "instrument of policy." On the other hand, the whole plan has one virtue, viz., that it does not require action by a Congress or a League, since any two countries which so desire can make a bilateral treaty, binding each only to avoid war upon the other party without a preliminary negotiation and arbitration. This chimes in with Bryan's automatic method of agreeing that in case two nations should be enraged with each other they should ask third parties to sit upon their disputes and wait six months till the pacification board reports.

No one can complain of the effort to concentrate the public sentiment of unofficial people. Even college professors are supposed to have a right to views on public affairs of every kind. Surely the world desires some reasonable method for preventing wars, and particularly wars of spoliation or conquest or intimidation. The real trouble with this new proposition for general obligation and previous agreements not to go to war is, first of all, that every nation that deserves to live will inevitably go to war for what it believes to be the protection of its national existence.

Take the case of the United States. There are several issues upon which the United States Government would never submit to arbitration, nor would the people of the United States as a body of thinking men and women accept such arbitration. The first of these is the question of prohibition of Oriental immigration, which has caused such grief among pacifists. To arbitrate that question would be to admit the possibility of a decision which would compel the United States to receive Orientals and to accept the political results, if in any State or the whole country they became a majority of the people. That would mean eventually the same trouble as the negro question, which has distressed America for three hundred years, raised to the nth power. Or take the question of the status of foreigners and foreign investments in China. To arbitrate the right of the Chinese in the long run to make their own decisions in such matters (with due regard to general principles of international law and international relations) would be to subject ourselves to arbitration on the status of foreigners from every part of the world, and their right to privileges not enjoyed by natives.

The truth is, and we must face it, that, however praiseworthy are the attempts to prevent the bullying of small Powers by large Powers, arbitration is not effective in interracial quarrels and wars in which the issue is one of domination of one race group over another. Shall the United States arbitrate any action that might be taken by the Republic of Panama to control the traffic through the Canal? It is not an accident that this idea of arbitrating everything should be taken up with fervor by France. What could be more appropriate than to arbitrate the question of whether the United States has any just claims for loans made to the French Government? In fact, the parents of the new scheme are substantially the same people who demanded the Geneva Protocol and the same people who have expressed the opinion that the United States has dealt unjustly with the debtor Powers and that an extra-constitutional machinery must be contrived to reduce the debt without consulting the State Department and the Senate and the President of the United States. The public is justified in expecting before long another pronunciamento, aimed to compel the Government to adopt a plan of adjustment of the Monroe Doctrine, which has seemed so secure, by the easy process of "outlawing war."

[INTERNATIONAL EVENTS]

Proposed Plans to Outlaw War

By JAMES THAYER GEROULD
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WAR by conquest is no longer good form, and it is doubtful if any nation, even Mussolini's Italy, would dare to precipitate a conflict with a frank statement of that as its object. Even our old friend "manifest destiny" now requires the decent covering of "self-defense," or of "protection of lives and property." A properly managed diplomacy can be relied upon with assurance to produce the conditions that will supply a pretext, if one is needed, and a little hot-headedness and blundering will do the rest. The situation around which the play *Spread Eagle* is built is quite within the range of possibility.

It is difficult for the realist to foresee a time when war shall be entirely abolished. The fighting instinct seems inherent in human nature, but it may, perhaps, be diverted. Only two centuries ago it seemed impossible that offenses against one's private honor or against one's women could be avenged other than by the duel.

Whatever the future, we are facing, in the present, a situation where there is more than a likelihood that another war, similar to the last, may overturn our entire civilization. Even the realist, however skeptical of completely satisfactory results, may join in the establishment of conditions that will make it less likely.

The League of Nations is far from being a perfected piece of machinery, but there are very few indeed who today do not admit that it is the best instrument thus far devised for the promotion of international understanding and of world peace. The Locarno treaties may conceivably fail to accomplish their complete purpose, but the omission from them of the reservations regarding "national honor and vital interests" and the agreement to submit to arbitration "all disputes of every kind" represent a tremendous step in advance.

In his message to the American people, on the anniversary of their entry into the World War, Briand, the French Foreign Minister, in most definite language, committed his Government to the negotiation of a treaty which would outlaw war as between the two nations. His words were almost unheeded, until, on April 26, Nicholas Murray Butler, in a vigorous letter to *The New York Times*, called it again to our attention. So far as is known, although of course this is no evidence of inaction, no steps have been taken by our Department of State in the direction suggested by the French Government. In the meantime, however, the project has been freely discussed in the press and by organizations interested in the promotion of international understanding. Two draft treaties have been proposed. On April 29 the American Foundation released for publication a draft designed to make concrete the idea embodied in Briand's proposal. The names signed to the document are a guarantee that it was carefully considered. President Angell and President Butler, Major Generals Tasker H. Bliss and John F. O'Ryan, Bishop Brent, John W. Davis and the others are not people who would indorse a chimerical scheme. The draft opens with an affirmation:

> The high contracting parties, in order to provide for the peaceful settlement of disputes of every nature which may eventually arise between them, and desiring that the principles of international law and equity shall govern their intercourse, solemnly declare their adherence to this convention, in the profound belief that its adoption will advance the peace, security and welfare of the world.

To accomplish these ends, it is proposed in Article I that:

> the high contracting parties agree to submit all controversies whatsoever of an international character which it has not been possible to settle through diplomatic channels and which do not come within the terms of any treaties or convention existing between the parties providing for the submission of disputes to arbitration or to judicial settlement, either to (1) a process of conciliation, or to (2) arbitration, or to (3) judicial settlement, in accordance with the procedure laid down in the following articles of this convention; and the high contracting parties further agree that in case the procedure of conciliation shall have been employed without success, the dispute shall be submitted either to arbitration or to judicial settlement; and they further agree that they will not declare war one upon the other, nor invade the territory of the other, nor commence hostilities, nor concentrate their forces, during the periods provided in this convention for the application of the peaceful methods of settlement, save in the one case of necessity for national defense against an act of aggression.

Article II provides that, if disputes can-

not be settled by the usual channels or by other types of arbitration and conciliation, resort must be had to arbitration or judicial settlement. The procedure involved in conciliation is outlined in Article III. If this is determined upon, each of the two States involved is to appoint two members of a commission. The fifth, who is to act as the President, is to be selected by the national members, or, in default of an agreement, by the Permanent Court of Arbitration. If more than two nations are concerned, each is to have two representatives, except where two of them are making common cause, in which case they join in the choice of two members. Each nation agrees to place at the disposal of the commission its full facilities for fact finding. Procedure is to be in accord with the Hague Convention of 1907, unless there is unanimous agreement to depart from it. The commission has six months in which to make its award, unless there is agreement by the contracting parties on a longer or a shorter time. Its decisions are to be reached by a majority vote. The award is not binding; but if it is not accepted, the nations are obligated to submit their case to arbitration or to judicial settlement. Arbitration may be by the Permanent Court or by a special tribunal. If the method of judicial settlement is preferred, the case is to go to the Permanent Court of International Justice. Whenever the two parties cannot agree on a method of settlement, they are obligated to submit the issue to an arbitral tribunal, formed in the same way as the Conciliation Commission and governed by the same rules. Its award, like that of the permanent court, is to be final.

The Shotwell Plan

The second of the drafts, prepared by Professor Shotwell of the Carnegie Endowment and Professor Chamberlain of Columbia University, was published on May 31. It is somewhat more complex and less far-reaching than the American Foundation draft, in both cases because it attempts to use, in so far as possible, existing materials. The renunciation of war, contained in Part I, is more definite than in the Foundation draft and is taken from the Locarno treaties. Part II, in which the method of arbitration and conciliation is defined, is based on the present arbitration treaties with France, Great Britain and Japan (all of which expire in 1928) and on the Bryan treaties. It makes no attempt to extend our existing treaty obligations.

The Bryan treaties, however, contemplate a recourse to war, should it prove impossible to secure a settlement by arbitration. In the Shotwell draft, the signers would "mutually undertake that they will in no case attack or invade each other or resort to war against each other." Exception is made where the treaty is violated by the other party and in cases involving the Monroe Doctrine. Disputes of a legal character, not involving matters solely of domestic concern and not affecting the "vital interests, the independence, or the honor of the two contracting parties and not concerning the interests of third parties," must be referred to the Permanent Court of Arbitration or to the Permanent Court of International Justice. Disputes of whatever nature, except those of domestic concern, shall, when diplomacy has failed and recourse is not had to arbitration, be submitted to conciliation. The commission provided is permanent during the life of the treaty rather than erected to deal with individual disputes. It is not to be limited to fact finding, like those of the Bryan treaties, and it is empowered to recommend terms of settlement.

The weakness of the second draft, as compared with the first, lies in the fact that it includes those "weasel words," to use a Rooseveltian phrase, "vital interests, independence and honor." Behind these a nation may creep and nullify the whole effect of the treaty. Without them, it is said, sovereignty is limited. Evidently the European Powers, who have joined in the Locarno treaties, do not so regard it. They are quite as jealous of their sovereignty as are we, and their interests conflict more frequently. There is implicit in every treaty a certain limitation on national freedom of action. If we agree not to do a thing, we are not at liberty to do it, but we are not less free thereby. Our freedom, our sovereignty, consists in the power to make the agreement. The fact that we have substituted the action of the courts for the dueling pistol has limited our freedom of action, but it has increased our freedom. To assert a difference, in this particular, between the State and the individual is mere brain spinning.

In neither draft appear the sanctions provided in the Locarno treaties, as they depend on the League. Whether the sanctions contained in the Covenant and the treaties will prove effective and sufficient, only the event can show. A system is at least erected. Thus far, we have been unwilling to admit that the rules which govern most of the civilized world can have application

to us. We have rejected the League; we have declined to associate ourselves with the World Court; we joined with Italy in refusing assent to the establishment of international supervision of armament. Nothing on the horizon warrants the belief that in the near future we shall recede from this position. Our sanctions, moral or military, must be of our own making.

Neither of the treaties, despite their brave language, makes war impossible. The second definitely legalizes it. "In the event that the treaty-breaking Power is one of the high contracting parties," the draft runs, "the other party recovers full liberty of action with reference to it." In a concrete case, there seems to be no reason why, should we refuse to arbitrate an issue on the ground that it would infringe our "vital interests, independence or honor," the other party to the dispute might not allege a different view and declare war against us. Such a situation could not occur under the first draft.

The acceptance of either treaty would, however, make war less probable, for it would array against an aggressor immediately the tremendous force of a world opinion which grows more powerful every year. A nation which violates a treaty of this kind becomes an outlaw, and treated as such.

Can such a treaty, if negotiated, receive the approval of the Senate? That, at the moment, in the words of the lamented Lord Dundreary, is "one of those things no feller can find out." The Administration may be assumed to be sympathetic, though it has not yet committed itself. If it does not believe that it can be carried by the requisite majority, it is safe to say that it will not go on with it. Its action will depend, in the last analysis, on the strength of public opinion. In our present situation, drunk as we are with wealth and power, it will be difficult to arouse an effective public interest. It is by no means impossible. If the Administration should use all its forces, and they are, in one way and another, enormous; if the newspapers will give it their support; and if, in the back country as well as in the tenements, people can be made to feel that it is an alternative to the weight of sorrow, the load of debt, the waste and horror of war, it can be passed.

The League of Nations: Record for May, 1927

By ROTH WILLIAMS
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THE month of May in League of Nations annals was dominated by the International Economic Conference, itself the culmination of a whole series of activities stretching back to the year of the League's foundation and opening up new vistas for League development and work in the future. But the month was sprinkled with events and meetings such as the award of the Jury of Architects in connection with the new assembly hall, the meeting of the Supervisory (budget) Commission, the Anti-Rabies Conference, the tenth session of the Health Committee, the Traffic in Women and Children Committee, the International Labor Conference, a couple of Transit Sub-Committees and Germany's raising before the Council the condition of the Memel inhabitants, which between them cover almost every phase of the League's development, finances and far flung activities. And May was wedged between two months, dominated in their turn by the second great branch of the League's work—in the shape of the third session of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference that met throughout April and the three-Power Naval Conference in June. May may therefore be called a fairly representative month, giving an instructive cross-section of the League in action.

THE LEAGUE'S PERMANENT HOME

The award of the Architects' Jury recalls the fact that the League, after living in temporary quarters for some years and hesitating as to the site for its permanent home, at last decided upon Geneva and accepted the gift offered by the Swiss Government of a splendid piece of property on the lake next door to the permanent quarters of the International Labor Organization. The money for building the League's new home ($3,500,000) is already in hand and a world-wide competition among architects of States members of the League produced 377 plans which have been passed upon by an international committee of distinguished architects. So equal in merit were many of the plans that the Committee

was unable to decide unanimously in favor of any one and instead awarded nine first, nine second and nine third prizes. It will now be for the Council and the Assembly to decide whether they wish a new competition to take place among the winners of first prizes or to leave the choice to the Secretary-General. There seems a good chance that the group of buildings that are to house the League will be a beautiful and noble structure worthy of the magnificent setting of lake and mountains and of the great ideal for which the League stands.

The Budget

The regular May meeting of the Supervisory or Budget Commission is a reminder that the League, like all human institutions, cannot live without money, and that, whereas in the early years there was discontent connected with finance, its budget system now runs smoothly. The Supervisory Commission is a group of Treasury experts from different countries, appointed by the Council, who carefully scrutinize the draft budget prepared by the Secretariat. In the form approved by the Supervisory Commission the budget is circulated to the States members of the League three months before the Assembly at which it is to be voted. The annual budget is now about 27 million gold francs ($5,300,000).

Traffic in Women and Children

Part of the humanitarian or social work of the League is carried out by the Advisory Commission for the Protection and Welfare of Children and Young People, which met at Geneva from April 25th to May 6th, and of which Miss Grace Abbott is the American member. A Committee of this Commission dealt with the expert report on the traffic in women whose publication last March caused such a sensation in the press of the world. This investigation, which lasted for two years, was pursued all over the world by men and women who for the purpose frequently disguised themselves as "procureurs," "souteneurs," "Madames" and other denizens of the underworld whose unsavory activities they were investigating. The money for this remarkable investigation was provided by the American Bureau of Social Hygiene and the inquiry directed by Dr. William S. Snow and Mr. Bascom Johnson, both Americans.

Obviously a report of this sort, powerful as may be its effect at the time on public opinion, is not likely to produce lasting results unless its conclusions are followed up by some permanent organization. The Advisory Commission discussed the conclusions and made certain recommendations which will come before the Council in June, be transmitted to the Governments, brought into public notice again at the September Assembly, and subsequently reviewed by the Advisory Commission in connection wth the reports of the Governments on the action taken.

The Health Organization

The League Health Committee concluded an agreement in April-May with the Permanent Committee of the Public International Health Office in Paris, by which the two bodies coordinate their activities and prevent confusion and overlapping so far as is compatible with the existence of two independent organizations. It was originally intended to incorporate the pre-war Public Health Office in a world-wide health organization under League auspices, but this was not possible, in spite of the well-nigh unanimous desire of professional opinion, because the United States and the Soviet Union, not being members of the League, could not consent to the proposed amalgamation. The head of the United States Public Health Service is, however, a member of the Health Committee and in other ways measures have been taken to overcome the practical difficulties resulting from the political objections of these Governments.

The first Anti-Hydrophobia Conference was summoned by the Health Committee in Paris to review the methods of treating hydrophobia all over the world, investigate certain technical problems and arrange for the pooling of information, comparative research work, testing of virus strains, and so forth. This work again depends upon the existence of a permanent international technical organization and is like that already undertaken by the League Health Organization as regards antitoxins and biological products, such as insulin and thyroid extract.

Certain branches of the Health Organization's activities are aided by the Rockefeller Foundation, particularly its world-wide service of epidemological intelligence, the Far Eastern Bureau of this service at Singapore, the system of interchanges and work of co-ordinating and "standardizing" vital statistics.

Transit and Communications

The meetings in May of a series of sub-Committees of the big advisory and technical Commission on Transit and Communications attested the importance of the big

general Transit Conference that opens at Geneva on Aug. 23, and which, like all League Conferences, is carefully prepared by the Secretariat and standing committees.

The transit organization is helping to reconcile the political sovereignty to which we all cling with the almost equally general desire to travel, send goods or telegrams or hold telephone conversations freely without reference to national frontiers. Through this organization international conventions covering road, rail and water transport, signaling and lighting codes at sea, passport formalities and motor transport, have been framed or brought up to date and generalized. The development of railway, steamship, airplane and motor traffic, wireless, broadcasting, long-distance telephone, the tourist habit and international business relations make it safe to predict a long and honorable career of useful work for the transit organization, in which the Governments and technical interests concerned can meet and solve their common problems.

The Autonomy of Memel

The German Minister of Foreign Affairs advised the Secretary-General of the League on May 24 that the German Government was bringing before the Council in June the complaint of the inhabitants of Memel territory (for the most part of German descent) concerning alleged infringements by Lithuania of the autonomy of Memel. The Memel convention accepted by Lithuania as a condition for security recognition of her sovereignty over Memel and drawn up on the recommendation of a Commission of Inquiry headed by Mr. Norman Davis, former American Under Secretary of State, provides for the autonomy of Memel town and territory with the right of any member of the League Council to bring before the latter any infringement of the provisions of the convention.

Greece and Great Britain

The Permanent Court of International Justice was advised on May 8th that the Greek Government proposed to take proceedings against the British Government with regard to concessions obtained before the war by a Greek national for the supply of water and electricity to the city of Jerusalem. Jerusalem is in the Palestine mandate administered by Great Britain, and by the terms of the mandates conventions all disputes concerning their application may be brought before the Permanent Court by either party. The present case has already been before the Court at the instance of the Greek Government and the latter is now raising it again on the allegation that the British Government has not acted as it should have done in virtue of the Court's previous decision.

The League's Limitations

This, then, is briefly a review of the principal activities of the League during May. If it be asked why it does not concern itself with such things as the civil war in China and the rupture of diplomatic relations between Great Britain and the Soviet Union, the answer is partly that the League is merely the sum of its members and what it does or does not do depends upon the joint and several policies of those members, and partly that the League was designed primarily for "the dealings of organized peoples with one another" and cannot concern itself with the domestic affairs of any nation. As soon as any problem has become sufficiently recognized by the Governments as ripe for settlement by the method of international cooperation and conciliation, the League machinery and obligations are there to translate the recognition into a practical policy. But the recognition must come first and depends in the last analysis on the view taken by public opinion of the world problems.

Devastations of the Mississippi Flood

By WILLIAM MACDONALD

LATELY LECTURER ON AMERICAN HISTORY, YALE UNIVERSITY; CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

UNTIL the end of May the great Mississippi flood, accurately characterized by Secretary Hoover as "the greatest peace-time calamity in the history of the country," continued its march of destruction in spite of the most strenuous efforts to check its ravages. For more than five weeks the daily record told a tragic and pathetic story of the irresistible advance of the river crest, heroic labor in attempting to strengthen the levees at danger points, break after break in the levees as the flood waters proceeded, vast additions to the flooded areas, widespread destruction of live stock and farm property, and the enforced removal of many thousands of people to places of safety on higher land and in concentration camps.

By the middle of May the river had overflowed or broken down all the levees from Cairo, Ill., to Natchez, Miss., on the west bank, and on the east bank had inundated a great area in Western Mississippi between the mouth of the Arkansas River and Vicksburg. Northern Louisiana had been turned into an inland sea from 250 to 300 miles long and from 50 to 100 miles wide, through which the crest of the Mississippi and the backwater crest of the Arkansas were forcing their way southward. New Orleans was saved by blasting the levee at Poydras, fifteen miles below the city, the breach eventually widening to 2,500 feet and carrying a flow of 200,000 cubic feet of water per second, but the adjacent Parishes of Plaquemines and St. Bernard were sacrificed. On May 13 the crumbling of the Bayou des Glaises levee at Moreauville, La., protecting the "sugar bowl" formed by the bend of the river, opened to the flood the region where most of the cane sugar of the United States is grown, and before long another million acres had been added to the submerged area and some 85,000 of the inhabitants, many of them descendants of the French Acadians of the eighteenth century, had been driven from their homes and farms.

By May 19 a break in the levee at Melville, La., on the Atchafalaya River, paralleling the Mississippi on the west, had widened to 4,000 feet, and urgent warnings were sent out to twenty-seven towns that lay in the path of the flood. For a time it was feared that the water might cut a new channel for the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico through the Atchafalaya Basin. On May 24 the heroic efforts which had been made to hold the levee at McCrea, on the east bank of the Atchafalaya, suddenly went for naught, and the last of the great breaks discharged a torrent of water into the "sugar bowl," with the prospect that at least seven of the ten sugar-growing parishes of Louisiana would be entirely submerged before the water finally reached the Gulf, and that still another 100,000 people would be added to the more than 200,000 in the State whom the flood had dispossessed.

From this point the flood waters began rapidly to recede. Heavy rains at the end of May in the upper Mississippi Valley again raised the river level at Cairo, a cloudburst in Eastern Kentucky on May 29 caused more than eighty deaths and temporarily drove out more than 100,000 people, and it was reported on June 6 that a return of high water on the lower Arkansas, due to rains, was for a second time rendering homeless some fifteen or twenty thousand people. It was not expected, however, that the new rise of the river would do more than delay for several weeks the ultimate disappearance of the water in the lower sections of the inundated area.

In a speech at New Orleans on May 28, Secretary Hoover, who had been personally directing the work of relief, summarized what had been done. Some 700,000 people had been affected by the flood, and of that number more than 600,000 had been in need of relief. Thanks to the work of the Federal Government, the American Red Cross and other agencies, not more than half a dozen lives had been lost since relief work had been centralized, although a far larger number of deaths had occurred during the first few days of the disaster. A network of communication by telegraph, telephone and radio had been thrown over the region, making possible advance warning to endangered communities, and motor trucks, automobiles, railway trains, river steamers, barges and boats had been mobilized for the removal of the inhabitants and such of their property as could be saved. An inspection

of the region by airplanes twice daily had also been maintained.

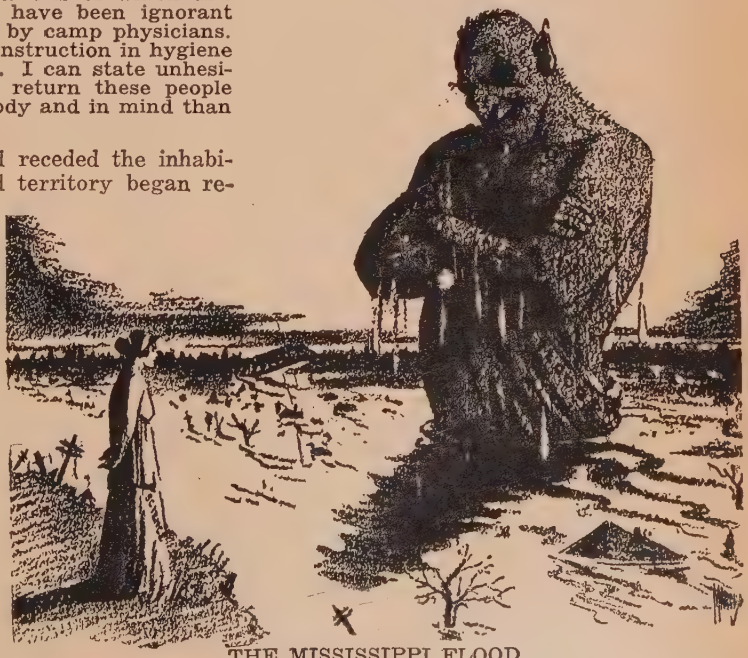
With the aid of the United States Engineer Corps, the Coast Guard, the Lighthouse Service and the Navy, supplemented by the railways, a number of great industries and organizations, such as the National Guard and the American Legion, 400,000 persons had been removed from their homes, while 300,000 more remained to be brought from the lower Louisiana parishes, at the date when Secretary Hoover spoke, before the work of rescue would be complete. Eighty concentration camps, extending for a thousand miles from Cairo to the Gulf, had been prepared by the Red Cross, some of the camps accommodating 20,000 people. Altogether, over 340,000 individuals had been sheltered in these camps and more than 250,000 had been given rations outside the camps. Mr. Hoover said:

> These great camps are the product of destruction and sorrow, but thousands of children quickly recover to the joyous chatter of play, and there is the satisfaction that at least a month's rest has come to many a woman who has never known rest before. Scores of thousands of these folk have been reclothed, sanitation and health have been safeguarded, hundreds of thousands of them have been vaccinated, and hundreds of thousands more have been inoculated for typhoid. Outbreaks of contagious disease have been stamped out. Ills of which this mass of people would have been ignorant have been attended to by camp physicians. They have been given instruction in hygiene and in personal health. I can state unhesitatingly that we shall return these people home more sound in body and in mind than when they came.

As fast as the flood receded the inhabitants of the inundated territory began returning to their homes, and the great task of restoring normal conditions of agricultural and town life began. It was believed that there would still be time, in many sections, to plant crops for this year's harvest. On May 28, when Mr. Hoover made his radio report to the nation, most of the submerged land in Illinois, Missouri, Kentucky and Tennessee had been drained, and the flooded area was rapidly diminishing in Arkansas. Later reports indicated active preparations for return in parts of Northern Mississippi and Louisiana.

With a view to facilitating reconstruction, there was organized in each of the three States of Arkansas, Louisiana and Mississippi a State Reconstruction Commission, together with a special finance corporation through which, with the assistance of the banks, loans on liberal terms might be made to individuals who still possessed credit and who could not be carried by local banks and merchants. The cooperation of the Federal Intermediate Credit Bank at Washington raised the resources of these financial corporations to about $5,000,000. An extensive system of county committees to cooperate with the Red Cross was also planned.

The total expenditure of the Federal Government during the six weeks of the flood was estimated by Secretary Hoover at $5,000,000, to which is to be added several millions contributed by railways and various corporations. Two Red Cross appeals netted about $14,000,000, and an additional $2,000,000 was asked for by Mr. Hoover on May 28. A Flood Credits Corporation, formed at Washington on June 3 by officials of the Chamber of Commerce



THE MISSISSIPPI FLOOD
"Well, what are you going to do about it?"
—*The New York Times*

of the United States, undertook to raise $1,750,000 to supplement Government aid to agriculture.

Estimates made by Federal and State engineers and commercial or other organizations at the end of May fixed the total inundated area throughout the period of the flood at more than 20,000 square miles, or approximately 12,800,000 acres. Of this amount 8,000-9,000 square miles were in Louisiana, about 3,800 in Mississippi, more than 5,000 in Arkansas, 2,100 in Missouri, and the remainder in Illinois and Kentucky. It was not expected that even approximate figures of the financial loss would be available for at least another month. The losses of the railways were variously estimated at from $10,000,000 to $15,000,000, notwithstanding that through train service on most lines was maintained, and the postal service was widely demoralized. Careful estimates of cotton experts put the probable loss of that crop at from 400,000 to 550,000 bales, depending upon the amount of new planting that should prove possible.

A petition signed by forty members of the House, most of them from districts in the flood area, requesting a meeting of Congress to deal with the flood situation, and also to pass the urgent deficiency bill which failed at the last session, was presented to Mr. Coolidge on June 2. A Mississippi Valley Flood Control Conference, called by the Mayors of Chicago, St. Louis and New Orleans, which closed a three days' meeting at Chicago on June 4, unanimously adopted a resolution asking the President to summon a conference of "army engineers, civil engineers, conservationists, geologists, financiers, agriculturists and other experts representing the various interests of our country" for the purpose of formulating, in connection with Government agencies, "a comprehensive plan for navigation and permanent flood control." Mr. Coolidge was unofficially reported as believing that a meeting of Congress was unnecessary at this time, but that it might be expedient to summon Congress in October in order to facilitate the early adjournment which is usually thought desirable in Presidential campaign years.

Business and Finance

Observers of business conditions have noted with mingled surprise and satisfaction the failure of the Mississippi flood to exercise any severe adverse effect upon the general business of the country. The Federal Reserve Board reported on May 17 a continued increase during April in the business activity which had been in progress since the beginning of the year, and a further drop in the general level of commodity prices. Temporary unemployment in the flooded area was offset in part by increased employment in the automobile and textile industries, and the outlook for the employment of farm labor during the Summer appeared to be favorable. A falling off in industrial output in April was apparently attributable to the bituminous coal strike, but gains in retail trade were reported and large orders for iron and steel and railway equipment were announced in May. Railway car loadings, which fell off in April, again passed the million mark in the week ended May 21, and business failures showed a decline. As a whole, however, trade, industry and agriculture were characterized as "spotty," the unevenness being due in large part to unseasonable weather, price uncertainties, and the approach of the usual Summer quietness.

A joint conference of bituminous mine operators and union miners of the Central Pennsylvania soft coal field, which opened at Philadelphia on May 24, adjourned after four days' discussion to June 13 without reaching any agreement regarding a new wage scale. Production of bituminous coal, mainly in non-union mines, continued in May at the rate of about 8,000,000 tons per week, with a sufficient supply in storage to last until the middle or last of July.

The weak spot in the business situation

THAT QUESTION CRAZE
—*Adams Service*

was the continued depression in the oil industry, due to over-production of crude oil and the unrestrained drilling of new wells. An appeal of representative oil men to the Federal Oil Conservation Board, on May 11, for aid in bringing about reforms was accompanied by an agreement among a number of the largest operators to establish a virtual dictatorship over production in the Seminole pool in Oklahoma. Following this action, sixteen of the largest producing companies in the Seminole region agreed on May 14 to stop drilling. Representatives of more than 200 independent companies, on the other hand, insisted that the trouble was due to the twenty-eight large companies which had taken more than 50,000,000 barrels of oil from the Seminole field since Feb. 1. The restriction of new drilling, which was still in force when this review was prepared, had exercised no marked influence as yet upon the total volume of production, and conferences between the operators and the Secretary of the Interior had led to no definite conclusions.

An issue of Treasury bonds, bearing interest at 3⅜ per cent., callable in 1943 and maturing in 1947, to be exchanged for Second Liberty Loan bonds, of which $1,697,337,050 are still outstanding, was announced on May 30. A cash offering of about $200,000,000 of the new bonds, to be used, together with surplus revenue, to retire some $378,000,000 of short term certificates maturing on June 15, was twice subscribed.

A statement by Secretary Mellon on June 6 that the budget surplus on June 30, the end of the present fiscal year, would probably exceed $600,000,000, and that the reduction of the public debt during the year would probably amount to $1,200,000,000, was regarded as foreshadowing a tax reduction by the next Congress of from $300,000,000 to $400,000,000.

Prohibition

The refusal of President Coolidge on May 14 to intervene in the selection of a Prohibition Commissioner, followed by the designation by Secretary Mellon, on May 20, of Seymour W. Lowman, former Lieutenant Governor of New York, to succeed General Andrews as Assistant Secretary of the Treasury in charge of customs, prohibition and the Coast Guard, and of Dr. James M. Doran of North Dakota, chief chemist of the Prohibition Unit, to be Prohibition Commissioner in place of Roy A. Haynes, was hailed by the "wets" as a rebuff to the Anti-Saloon League, which was understood to have demanded that Mr. Haynes's temporary appointment be made permanent. Both appointments, on the other hand, were declared to be entirely pleasing to the Methodist Episcopal Board of Temperance, Prohibition and Public Morals, which had interested itself actively in the controversy.

Continued expressions of strong opposition to the Presidential candidacy of Governor Smith of New York and threats of the "drys" to put a third party in the field in behalf of prohibition enforcement were offset by a number of organized expressions of opposition to the prohibitory régime. The American Medical Association, at its annual meeting at Washington on May 18, adopted a resolution declaring that "legislative bodies composed of laymen should not enact restrictive laws regulating the administration of any therapeutic agent by physicians legally qualified to practice medicine," and ordered the preparation of a bill to amend the Volstead act so as to authorize doctors "to prescribe whatever amounts of alcoholic liquors may be needed for their respective patients, and subject to such reasonable restrictions as may be thought wise and best after a conference with the head of the Prohibition Department." On the same day the Illinois House of Representatives, which three weeks before had passed a resolution calling upon Congress to summon a constitutional convention to revise the Eighteenth Amendment, voted to submit to a referendum the question of repealing the State Prohibition act and the Search and Seizure act. The directors of the Church Temperance Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church made public on May 24 a resolution calling upon national and State Legislators to secure the "speedy adoption of moderate regulatory measures to replace the impracticable and harmful laws now in force."

Nicaraguan Civil Strife Ended by United States Ultimatum

By CHARLES W. HACKETT

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THROUGH the efforts of Henry L. Stimson, the personal representative in Nicaragua of President Coolidge, supplemented as these efforts were by an ultimatum to the Liberal leaders, peace has been imposed upon war-torn Nicaragua. Mr. Stimson's program for establishing and maintaining peace in Nicaragua, as outlined in a Department of State communiqué of May 6, is as follows:

(1) Complete disarmament on both sides; (2) an immediate general peace to permit planting for the new crop in June; (3) a general amnesty to all persons in rebellion or exile; (4) the return of all occupied or confiscated property to its owners; (5) participation in the Díaz Cabinet by representative Liberals; (6) organization of a Nicaraguan constabulary on a non-partisan basis, commanded by American officers; (7) American supervision of the 1928 election; (8) the continuance temporarily in the country of a sufficient force of American marines to guarantee order pending the organization of the constabulary.

A notable omission from this program was that of three proposals by President Diaz, made public by the Department of State on Feb. 25—namely, that there should be "financial and economic rehabilitation of Nicaragua through the aid of an American financial adviser and an American Receiver General of Customs"; that there should be "a loan of $20,000,000 for the construction of a railway to the Atlantic coast of Nicaragua, for highways, for refunding the Nicaraguan debt and the settlement of claims arising from revolutionary activities"; and that there should be improvement of the "health and general welfare" of Nicaragua with the assistance of specially selected American experts.

The Department of State, in its communiqué of May 6, offered an explanation of Mr. Stimson's program:

The two main difficulties in the way of a constructive settlement have been the inability thus far of the revolutionists to reconcile themselves to the continuance in power of President Díaz until the election of 1928, and the lack of what they would consider effective guarantees for a fair election when held. * * * His [Mr. Stimson's] mission has * * * been concerned with an effort to find a way to overcome the difficulty that whatever might be said on theoretical grounds for the idea of a neutral President, agreed upon by both parties, as a practical matter it would not be possible, in the existing circumstances, to find any individual who would be acceptable to both sides. Consequently the demand of the revolutionists that President Díaz retire at once in favor of some other individual to be agreed upon did not seem to point the way to a solution. * * * Mr. Stimson made it clear to them [the Sacasa representatives at Tipitapa on May 3] that the retention of President Díaz during the remainder of his term was essential and would be insisted upon. They all yielded to that statement, and General Moncada [the Liberal generalissimo] has undertaken to persuade his troops to lay down their arms.

Although this communiqué made no reference to any threat of coercion by the United States in case the Stimson program was not accepted, the Sacasa peace delegates—Espinosa, Arguello and Reyes—made public at Managua on May 6 a letter from Mr. Stimson to General Moncada, stating that the President of the United States intends to accept the request of the Nicaraguan Government to supervise the election of 1928; that the retention of President Díaz during the remainder of his term is regarded as essential to that plan and will be insisted upon; that a general disarmament of the country is also regarded as necessary for the proper and successful conduct of such election; and that the forces of the United States will be authorized to accept the custody of arms of those willing to lay them down, including the Government's, and to disarm forcibly those who will not do so.

The text of this letter was confirmed by the Department of State on May 10.

In the light of the above information Richard V. Oulahan, Washington correspondent of *The New York Times* wrote on May 7 as follows:

There appears to be no doubt from information obtained upon inquiry today that the United States Government has intervened in Nicaragua. On the face of the record it seems to have been a forcible intervention, or, put in another way, a threat of force was used in order to accomplish the purpose of this Government, which was to bring about peace in that perturbed country, whose disorders greatly disturbed the Coolidge Administration. * * * The dictum attributed to Colonel Stimson

should not be taken too literally, however. There is reason to believe, or at least it is strongly suspected here, that Dr. Sacasa's Liberal forces were looking for an excuse to surrender to the United States, and it would not surprise some of those informed of the situation that the true story is that General Moncada hinted to Colonel Stimson that disarmament of his forces could be procured by the mere statement that force would be used by the United States marines if the Liberals did not lay down their arms.

After Mr. Stimson's ultimatum with respect to the Liberals' laying down their arms was delivered to General Moncada at Tipitapa, progress was promptly made in carrying out the Stimson peace terms. The Department of State on May 7 issued a statement from Mr. Stimson that President Díaz had granted general amnesty and had proclaimed freedom of the press, subject to disarmament, and that, at the suggestion of General Moncada, President Díaz had agreed to the appointment of Liberal Governors in six Liberal departments. Mr. Stimson expressed the belief that the eventual result would be "a *de facto* though not a formal settlement between Díaz and his opponents." On May 8, Mr. Stimson received a telegram from General Moncada indicating that he was making progress in undertaking to disarm his troops. Meanwhile, on May 7 and 8, Mr. Stimson conferred with the Sacasa peace delegates, who, according to a State Department communiqué on May 9, "while maintaining the position that the Liberals would not accept office under Diaz, * * * assured him that the Liberals would cooperate in Congressional by-elections in certain districts this year and would also accept positions necessary for future reconstruction of the country."

Notwithstanding the optimistic reports, orders were issued in Washington on May 9 for the dispatch of 800 additional marines to Nicaragua, the State Department announcing the same day that the sending of additional forces "at Admiral Latimer's request does not indicate any new situation or unforeseen complications," and that Admiral Latimer "by arrangement with both sides in the conflict which is terminating * * * has assumed certain obligations to preserve general order and police various areas pending the organization of the national constabulary in accordance with the agreed plan." Admiral Latimer on May 10 took preliminary steps looking to the disarmament of the Conservative and Liberal forces. In a proclamation which was given wide publicity he stated that "the United States Government, having accepted the request of the Nicaraguan Government to supervise the elections of 1928, believes general disarmament necessary for the proper and successful conduct of such elections," and had directed him "to accept the custody of the arms and ammunition of those willing to give them up." After referring to the fact that the Nicaraguan Government was willing to deliver the arms under its control, and had granted general amnesty to all political and armed opponents, the proclamation stated that, in order "to facilitate the return to peaceful occupations of those heretofore opposing, the Nicaraguan Government will pay ten cordobas ($10) to each individual delivering a serviceable machine gun or rifle to the custody of the United States forces. Amnesty and protection are assured such individuals by the Nicaraguan Government and the forces under my command."

Mr. Stimson on May 11 reported to the State Department that as a result of a second conference which he and Minister Eberhardt, Admiral Latimer and General Feland had held that day with General Moncada and one of his generals, he was of the opinion that they had "concluded satisfactorily the final details for the disarmament of the insurgent army," which was expected to be completed in two days. The work of collecting the arms of the Liberals was satisfactorily begun on May 13. That day Mr. Stimson reported that eleven generals, including all the prominent Liberal chiefs except one, had agreed to accept the peace terms which he had given to General Moncada and consequently had resolved to lay down arms. "I believe," said Mr. Stimson, "this marks definitely the end of the insurrection." The delivery of arms and ammunition proceeded so expeditiously that on May 14 all General Moncada's forces had delivered up their munitions and arms.

Before leaving Nicaragua for the United States Mr. Stimson went to Tipitapa on May 15 and addressed General Moncada and his staff of twoscore Generals. In the name of President Coolidge, he gave a solemn pledge that the United States would assure free elections in 1928 and would deal impartially in all its efforts to aid Nicaragua. Upon his return to Managua from Tipitapa Mr. Stimson reported to the Department of State as follows:

The civil war in Nicaragua is now definitely ended. Nearly all the Government troops and practically the entire insurgent army of Moncada have been disbanded and substantially all of their arms have been turned over to our custody. We have received thus far 6,200 rifles, 272 machine guns and 5,000,000 rounds of ammunition. There has been very little disorder and not a single American shot has

been fired against the organized forces of either side. Among the Nicaraguans themselves bloodshed has substantially ceased since our actions of May 4. * * *

I believe that our action meets general approval among the thinking men and women of Nicaragua irrespective of party. * * * Almost the only malcontents are the extremely small group of personal associates of Sacasa, who, through their well-organized press bureaus in Mexico, Costa Rica, Guatemala and the United States, have sought to convey an entirely false impression of the situation. The views of these men who have done no fighting for their cause carry little weight in Nicaragua. The fighting men of the insurgent army have taken a truer and more generous view of our action and are preparing to cooperate in the future work. In this work of conciliation and reconstruction the Díaz Government has taken an encouraging lead. Amnesty was declared even before the troops were disarmed and pledges have been given to restore the courts and the congress to the status existing before the Chamorro coup d'état. There has also been promised the appointment of Liberal local officials in the Liberal provinces. I am bringing with me the formal request of the Government for American supervision at the 1928 election.

Mr. Stimson sailed from Corinto on May 16 and a week later reached Washington, where he conferred with President Coolidge on the Nicaraguan situation. In a statement issued on May 23 Mr. Stimson said: "Both of the armies have been disbanded and have delivered over their weapons to the custody of the American forces, which have received up to date over 9,500 rifles, 296 machine guns, and nearly 6,000,000 rounds of ammunition. * * * This transition from war to peace has been accomplished by the faith which both sides have in the promise of the President of the United States by arranging for American supervision to give to Nicaragua a free and fair election in 1928. * * * I feel that this offers to the United States an opportunity to win the confidence of Nicaragua and to perform a great constructive service to the whole of Central America. I feel sure that it will be regarded by our people as a sacred trust."

On May 16, according to official reports, a band of 300 revolutionary guerrillas fired into an encampment of an American marine detachment at La Paz Centro consisting of about forty-five men. An engagement followed which lasted about 30 minutes, whereupon the guerrillas withdrew. Captain Richard B. Buchanan of Washington and Private M. A. Jackson of Chicago were killed. The guerrillas left the bodies of fourteen killed. Despite this incident, steady progress in the disarming of the natives continued and Minister Eberhardt was able to inform the State Department on May 27 that the American forces had "received 11,600 rifles, 303 machine guns and 5,500,000 cartridges, of which the Liberals turned in over 3,000 rifles, 26 machine guns and 1,500,000 cartridges."

The Stimson peace proposals were not received with unanimous favor. At Puerto Cabezas on May 9, Dr. Juan B. Sacasa, Liberal contender for the Presidency, said he could not "understand why the Government of the United States, heedless of public opinion on this continent and in the United States, should persist in supporting the Díaz Presidency, even at the risk of shedding the blood of American soldiers." In Washington on May 11 Senator La Follette said: "The admission by the State Department that Mr. Stimson, speaking for President Coolidge, threatened open warfare on the Liberals is an amazing revelation that the President, in carrying forward his policy of ruthless imperialism in Central America is ready to violate the Constitution, which gives the war-making power solely to Congress. * * * This course has already gone far in destroying the good-will of all Latin America toward the United States. Our mutual friends have become our potential enemies."

The acceptance by General Moncada of the Stimson peace terms did not meet with the approval of leading members of the Sacasa Government. Dr. Juan B. Sacasa at Puerto Cabezas on May 14 expressed the determination of the Liberals "to stand aloof from the Government of President Díaz * * * because dignity demands it." He continued: "Confronted with Mr. Stimson's intimation to disarm it, my army * * * can only sacrifice itself or submit to the strength of a foreign power which, instead of being the bulwark of justice and right, has nullified the popular will of the Nicaraguan people as expressed in the free election of 1924 and ratified on the battlefield for the past six months." On the day of Mr. Stimson's departure Dr. Sacasa declared that Mr. Stimson, "instead of investigating the real situation and doing justice to the Nicaraguan people, seems to have been sent for the express purpose of ramming down their throats the Díaz Presidency." Mr. Stimson replied indirectly to Dr. Sacasa when at Panama on May 18 he said: "Dr. Sacasa * * * has a small group around him that does not represent Liberal opinion in Nicaragua. Neither does he express the feelings of the army. General Moncada has the Liberal army behind him and does about as he pleases."

Dr. Sacasa, accompanied by his entire staff, on May 21 left Puerto Cabezas, where

he established his Government in December, 1926, and proceeded to San José de Costa Rica, where it was reported on May 27 that they had been the objects of a demonstration of sympathy with which some anti-Americanism was mixed. In a statement issued on May 27 Dr. Sacasa said that only "the display of force" and his desire to avoid bloodshed led him to abandon his country. He expressed confidence that "the justice of the American people will correct the mistaken policy which has been followed by the American Department of State in Nicaragua."

Mexico

THE rebellion in the State of Jalisco, which the Mexican Government has alleged is being promoted by Catholics, appeared to have been virtually suppressed by mid-May. An official report on May 12 stated the District of San Miguel el Alto, in the State of Jalisco, which had formerly been the scene of much rebellious activity, was free from rebels and that the leaders, including a priest named Vera, had fled to the United States. An authoritative report from Mexico City on May 16 stated that the Jalisco rebels had been penned in a small area and that a squadron of cavalry was in constant pursuit and was preventing the rebels from obtaining supplies of ammunition. The Mexican Government continued during May to deport Mexican Catholic prelates.

Hostilities between rebellious Yaqui Indians and Mexican Federal troops occurred south of the international boundary near Nogales, Ariz., late in April and early in May. One Federal General and 189 of his troops were reported to have been slain by the Yaquis in a battle fought a short distance south of Nogales on April 30. Seven days later (May 7) thirty-three Yaqui warriors entered the United States under arms near Nogales, and were apprehended by the United States border patrol. Fighting between the Yaquis and Federal troops sixty-eight miles south of Nogales was reported on May 9 and 10. Mexico City dispatches of May 11 stated that approximately 4,000 Federal troops were in the troubled area, and on the same date Major Cesare Rangel, chief of the Mexican Federal forces in Sonora, stated that the Yaqui rebellion, of several months' duration, had been virtually suppressed. In Los Angeles, Cal., former Provisional President De la Huerta issued a statement on May 15 that the bulk of the Yaqui army remained in Southern Sonora, and that he estimated that there "more than 30,000 men under arms fighting against the Government of Calles and Obregón." De la Huerta's statements were characterized by Mexican Government officials as propaganda. De la Huerta and four other Mexicans in Los Angeles, Tucson and San Antonio, Texas, were on May 18 formally charged by agents of the United States Department of Justice at Tucson with shipping arms and munitions to Tucson for the purpose of smuggling them across the border in violation of a Presidential proclamation and an act of Congress.

The question of the constitutionality of the new Mexican petroleum law, which theoretically went into effect on Jan. 1, 1927, has been further considered by the Mexican courts, where it was carried last January when ten oil companies applied for a stay against several articles of the law, on the ground that they were retroactive, and asked for injunctions against Mexican officials for promulgating the law and the order calling for the names of all companies not complying with the law prior to Jan. 1, 1927. Though the Judge of the Third Mexican District Court granted partial injunctions, he refused the request for injunctions against the promulgation of the law. This decision was the subject of an appeal to the Supreme Court, which on May 4 ruled that the lower court should have either granted or refused the injunctions in totality. It was reported on May 18 that the District Judge at Villa Cuahtemoc, State of Vera Cruz, had issued a "definite injunction" to the Transcontinental Petroleum Company restraining the application of the petroleum law, and that this injunction was intended to meet the ruling of the Supreme Court that petitions for amparos cannot be granted on certain points but must be granted outright. An appeal to the Supreme Court was promptly initiated by representatives of the Government. A court decision authorizes the oil companies to continue to operate their wells pending a final judgment concerning the question of the retroactivity of the law. The District Judge at Villa Cuahtemoc complained to President Calles in mid-May that the Department of Industry, Commerce and Labor, in disregard of injunctions which he had granted against the provisions of the petroleum law, was refusing to grant drilling permits to the Transcontinental Company. This was denied on May 18 by the department, which stated that it did not know that the company had secured an injunction. At the same time the department accused the Mex-

ican Gulf Oil Company, acting under the injunctions issued by the District Judge of Villa Cuahtemoc, of having drilled oil wells unscientifically, without permits, and with the intention of injuring surrounding pools by letting in salt water. President Davidson of the Mexican Gulf Oil Company on May 21 stated that the above-mentioned charges "refute themselves." The Mexican Supreme Court on May 20 denied an injunction granted by the Tuxpam District Court to the Mexican Gulf Oil Company against possible future injuries resulting from the enforcement of the petroleum law and against the annulment of drilling permits. A decision of a lower Mexican court which lifted an embargo obtained by the Government on oil produced by the Penn-Mex Fuel Oil Company on lands in the Tuxpam district which are in litigation, was sustained by the Mexican Supreme Court on May 18. The acceptance of the new petroleum law by the Corona Oil Company, a subsidiary of the Royal Dutch Shell Company, was announced by the Mexican Government on May 19.

Señora Natalia Calles, wife of President Calles, died of a heart attack on June 2 in Los Angeles, Cal., where she was convalescing from a major operation performed five days earlier.

Panama

AN assertion by George D. Arias, President of the Panama Association of Commerce, at the recent Pan-American Commercial Conference that the spirit if not the letter of the Panama Canal Treaty was being violated through the operation by the United States Government of general stores in the Canal Zone, which deal in silks, porcelains and other luxuries, was seconded by a large group of American business men in a letter of protest to President Coolidge on May 13. The letter asserts that the stores are doing a general business and are selling to other than United States Government employes and that their business has reached such proportions as to stifle the natural trade of Panama. President Coolidge on May 13 stated that the stores operated under existing treaty rights, and the next day the State Department issued a statement pointing out that "a treaty was negotiated and signed on July 28, 1926, by which the United States agreed in perpetuity to limit sales in the commissaries to those having a direct relation to the operation and protection of the Canal, and also limited residence in the Canal Zone in a similar manner. When the ratifications of this treaty are exchanged, the question will be definitely settled." From Panama it was reported on May 20 that employes of the Panama Canal may boycott Panaman merchants because of the agitation of the Panaman Association of Commerce. At a meeting on May 22 of the Metal Trades Council at Balboa, the principal executive body of organized labor in the Canal Zone, the question of the proposed boycott was postponed and the propaganda of the Panaman Chamber of Commerce against the United States Government Commissaries was condemned as inimical to the interests of labor in the Canal Zone and not based on facts.

Cuba

IN an address at a celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of Cuban independence President Machado disclosed for the first time that on his recent visit to this country he had proposed to the United States Government that there should be a further severance of the bonds that tie Cuba to the United States. Current agitation in Cuba has as its aim to bring about the agreement between Cuba and the United States embodied in the so-called Platt Amendment—a treaty provision which, in part, gives to the United States the right under certain conditions to interfere in the internal affairs of Cuba.

Chile's New Government

By HARRY T. COLLINGS

PROFESSOR OF ECONOMICS, UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA; CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

GENERAL CARLOS IBANEZ was elected President of Chile on Sunday, May 22. He polled 222,139 out of 230,211 ballots cast. On the following day the Chilean Cabinet resigned.

Former President Figueroa-Larrain resigned on May 1. Ill health was assigned as the reason for his withdrawal from office. He was elected Oct. 24, 1925, and inaugurated Dec. 23, for a term of five years. The new Government has designated the ex-President as Chile's representative in the League of Nations.

Chile experienced a bloodless revolution on Sept. 5, 1924, and since then Government affairs have been in a troublous state. The military junta which took over the Government in September, 1924, demanded the resignation of President Alessandri. After an absence of six months in Europe he was again called to assume the office of Chief Executive when the military directorate was forced out, Jan. 23, 1925, by another group of army officers. He resigned on Oct. 1, 1925, and President Figueroa-Larrain was elected on Oct. 24. On April 7, 1927, the President was granted a leave of absence and left the country. Since there is no Vice President elected in Chile, the Constitution provides that the Minister of the Interior shall assume such office in case of temporary disability of the Chief Executive. If the incapacity becomes permanent a new President is elected upon the order of the Vice President. When President Figueroa-Larrain left the country in April, General Carlos Ibañez, following constitutional provision, became Vice President. For two months previous to that time, as Premier, he had followed a vigorous policy of "purging the country" of radicalism and communism.

On the day after his election General Ibañez announced the following Cabinet:

ENRIQUE BALMACEDA-TORO—Premier and Minister of the Interior.
CONRADO RIOS-GALLARDO—Foreign Minister.
PABLO RAMIREZ—Finance.
CAPTAIN CARLOS FRODDEN—National Defense.
AQUILES VERGARA—Justice and Education.
JUAN EMILIO ORTIZ-VEGA—Works, Trade and Communication.
JOSE SANTOS SALAS-ASALARIADO—Health.
ARTURO ALEMPARTE—Agriculture.

Señor Enrique Balmaceda-Toro, the new Premier, is the son of a former President of Chile and was Minister of War in the Alessandri Administration. His Cabinet shows only two actual replacements and two consolidated Ministries. Señor Isaac Hevia, Minister of Public Health, and Señor Julio Velasco, Minister of Public Works, in the previous Cabinet were not reappointed; Señor Juan Emilio Ortiz-Vega has been put at the head of a new combination portfolio of Works, Trade and Communications, while Captain Frodden now heads both the army and navy branches as Minister of National Defense.

The policies of the new Administration centre around political reform and economic stability. Congress was convened in ordinary session on May 21. In his annual message to Congress Vice President Ibañez (he was not chosen President until the following day) stressed his avowed purpose of purifying Chilean politics—a plan he has pursued for some months past. His practically unanimous election he interpreted as an expression of unqualified popular approval of this course. On May 19 nearly a hundred persons were arrested in a police raid on an alleged Communist gathering and a large quantity of radical propaganda was seized. The office of the radical newspaper, *La Antorcha*, was raided, the publication suspended and the editor held in custody. The new Administration sets its face firmly against the spread of radicalism in Chile.

The economic policies of President Ibañez were made clear by his message. The policy of economy to which he has been adhering will be continued and further borrowing will be avoided. The National City Bank of New York has been appointed the new fiscal agent of the Government in the United States, as has Rothschilds for Great Britain.

For the better supervision of Government expenditures a new office of Controller General has been created. The budget for 1927, as passed by Congress on Feb. 1, 1927, has been balanced at approximately $117,000,000. This contrasts with the original draft, which entailed a deficit of more than $16,000,000. In 1918 more than 60 per cent.

of the national revenue was derived from the export duty on nitrates, whereas dependence on that single item has been reduced to 17 per cent. in the present budget. New sources of income are shown. The tax rate on practically all products, except minerals, has been raised considerably, in some cases doubled. Estimated yield of the income tax has increased from $9,708,000 in 1925 and $14,400,000 in 1926 to $21,480,000 in 1927. Reduction in Government expenditures has been brought about by the elimination of Federal employes, by the lowering of salaries and by a decrease in the number and size of pensions.

Bolivia

TWO persons were killed and forty wounded in a riot on May 5, which resulted in the declaration of martial law by the Bolivian Cabinet. This riot grew out of a demonstration by 2,000 students in support of an imminent strike by professors of the National University who had not received their salaries for the past three months. The following day an agreement was reached between the Government and the professors by which the latter were promised immediate payment of back salary. Under martial law the newspaper *La Razon* was suspended and the editor and four other men were deported.

Disturbed conditions have prevailed for some time likewise in the Argentine universities at Buenos Aires and Rosario because of student participation in the election of university officials. Owing to the refusal of many faculty members to vote, as a protest against this system, the student vote has been a determining one.

Argentina

ARGENTINA celebrated on May 25 the 117th anniversary of the beginning of her struggle for independence. The occasion was doubly memorable because on that day Great Britain and France raised their diplomatic representatives in Argentina to the rank of Ambassador. Heretofore only the United States and Spain have had envoys of ambassadorial rank. The previous week President Alvear opened the regular session of Congress. In his annual message he referred to the coming Presidential election and assured all voters of freedom in the selection of their new officials. Argentine finances are in a prosperous state; service on the public debt has been continued with prompt payments of interest and principal, the peso is practically at par on the foreign exchanges and the budget of 1926 closed with a surplus estimated at $325,000. President Alvear asked Congress to act on Argentina's status in the League of Nations. The country withdrew its delegation in 1920. Return to active membership has been under consideration since September, 1926.

Venezuela

IN HIS message at the opening of Congress (April 28) President Gomez reviewed the political and commercial happenings of the past year and pointed out the evident prosperity of the republic. Potential oil production from the Maracaibo Basin is now so great, according to the estimate of exploiting companies' experts, that it would make Venezuela the second producing country of the world, if the oil could be exported. The new Lagunillas field seems to be the richest territory yet discovered. There are thirty-nine tankers now operating on Lake Maracaibo, with an average carrying capacity of 10,000 barrels each. The number of barrels carried per month now runs around 4,926,000. These remarkable oil developments in the Maracaibo district have made that area an industrial hive. Living expenses, according to a report of the United States Department of Commerce, issued in June, 1927, have advanced to such a degree that the cost of necessities in the capital, Caracas, and at Maracaibo is "about on a level with the maximum costs in the largest cities of Latin America."

Brazil

THE thirteenth Brazilian Congress opened on May 3. The message of President Washington Luis outlined a financial program for balancing the budget. It stated that the value of the milreis has become practically fixed at its present quotation around 12 cents and that Brazil was ready to honor obligations on her foreign debts. No mention was made of new loans.

The President called attention to the country's growth during the thirty-eight years of Republican rule. He pointed out that when the Empire was overthrown in 1889 the population was little more than 13,500,000, but that this number had now grown to 37,000,000. The number of cities has increased from eighty-eight to 342,

schools from 8,157 to 25,000 and newspapers from 533 to 2,376.

In regard to the question of monetary reform, which has engaged the attention of the country for almost two years, President Luis said:

> If Brazil does not fix the value of her currency she will never be able to restore her economic and financial life, and without the restoration of her economic and financial life she will never be able to exercise her rights and fulfill her duties. We should work slowly but surely in order not to disturb the equilibrium between cost of production and prices.

Dr. Arturo Bernardes, former President of Brazil, was recently elected Senator from the State of Minas Geraes. On the occasion of his taking the oath of office (May 25) such a demonstration was made against him that Federal troops were called to the Senate. Stern repression of revolutionary outbreaks during his Administration was regarded as the cause of the opposition. Immediately after he had been sworn in as Senator, Dr. Bernardes left for Europe.

Peru

THE Peruvian budget for 1927 has been approved by Congress with revenues and expenditures balanced at 10,371,542 Peruvian pounds. At par the Peruvian pound has the same value as the British pound, although at present the foreign exchange rate is approximately $3.64. Import duties are relied upon to supply one-third of the total revenues; more than one-third of the estimated expenditures is allocated to the Ministry of Finance.

International boundary lines continue to cause difficulty in South America. The Colombian Minister to Peru was recalled by his Government and ordered to Rio de Janeiro on May 20. This severance of diplomatic relations between the two countries is attributed to the failure of Peru to approve the treaty between Colombia and Peru regarding the international boundary line. The treaty was accepted by Colombia three years ago, but ratification by Peru has since been hanging fire. The Tacna-Arica settlement still agitates Peruvian politics. Press reports (May 16) from Chile state that Secretary Kellogg disregarded a protest from Peru over Chile's nationalization program for the Tacna-Arica provinces. This announcement was met informally by our State Department with the assertion that no protest had been received from Peru. The Ambassadors of Peru and Chile in Washington had informed Secretary Kellogg of the attitude of their respective Governments on further plans to settle the controversy, but no results requiring action by the United States followed. Peru and Chile are in disagreement as to whether the Chilean program involves a violation of the arbitral award of President Coolidge.

[THE BRITISH EMPIRE]

Battle Over British Trade Union Bill

By RALSTON HAYDEN

PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN; CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

ONE of the most stubborn Parliamentary battles of modern British history has been fought during the past two months over the Conservative Government's Trade Union Bill, a measure regarded by those who control the party as a potential legal bulwark against the complete domination of the State by the laboring class through the instrumentality of the general strike. They conceive its passage to be necessary for the defense of the existing British political and social system. The forces of Labor, on the other hand, believe the bill to be an attack upon those rights which the workers have wrested from their employers during almost a century of sacrifice and struggle and see in its eight clauses provisions designed not to protect the State, but to destroy the unions. With these convictions, the leaders of both groups have opposed each other with true British doggedness. The Conservatives have steadily used their crushing majority in the House of Commons to carry their bill into law, while Labor has opposed the measure at every step by every means within its power. The struggle has demonstrated, as nothing else could, that the Parliament which, as Hilaire Belloc used to declare, fought only sham battles which were never

carried to a conclusion that hurt any one, vanished when the Labor Party entered the House of Commons in force. At the same time, despite the occasional employment by the Labor opposition of violent language and irregular methods, the debate seemed to prove that British parliamentary institutions are still adequate for the discussion and decision of the most vital matters upon which men divide politically. It is of tremendous significance that even in its most angry moments, Labor threatened an appeal not to force, but to the British electorate.

The early history of the Trade Union bill has been traced in previous numbers of CURRENT HISTORY, and the bill itself was printed in the June number. The four-day debate on the second reading of the measure brought out the following fundamental principles which the Government sought to write into law through its clauses: (1). A general strike is illegal and no man shall be penalized for refusing to take part in it. (2). Intimidation is illegal and no man shall be compelled by threats to abstain from work against his will. (3). No man shall be compelled to subscribe to the funds of any particular party unless he so desires. (4). Any person entering the established civil service must give his undivided allegiance to the State.

After the House of Commons on May 5, by a vote of 386 votes against 171, had accepted the bill in principle at second reading, the measure passed to the committee stage—that is, it came up for consideration in detail in the Committee of the Whole. In committee the procedure is to discuss a measure clause by clause, line by line, word by word, and the parliamentary method of opposition is to introduce amendments at every possible point. Within a few days after second reading the Labor members had given notice of approximately 400 amendments to the Trade Union bill, all of them frankly destructive in nature. The determination with which they were pushed is indicated by the fact that during two days and one night of hard work the House passed only seven words of the first clause of the bill.

Declaring that such opposition would make it practically impossible for the Government, even with its overwhelming majority, to get the bill through the House without resorting to closure, Prime Minister Baldwin, on May 16, introduced a motion to apply the "guillotine" to the measure. The time table thus suggested provided that twelve more days be allotted to debate at the committee stage; on each day one of the eight clauses, or a part thereof, would be taken up and at the end of the day (usually 10:30 P. M.) all the motions necessary to dispose of that part of the bill would be put and voted upon without further debate. Three days more were allotted to the report stage and one to third reading. The Parliamentary days upon which the bill was to be debated were to be selected by the Government.

Closure by the "guillotine" process has never been popular in the House of Commons, and the device had not been used since 1921. Its introduction in connection with this measure so incensed the Labor Party, that its members marched out of the House in a body. In their absence the Baldwin motion carried by a majority of 246. On the following day, however, the Labor members returned to the House. Their leaders had decided that the party could not afford to take any action which might suggest to the country that Labor was not prepared to meet the bill with reasoned argument.

In the subsequent debate most of the time was occupied by explanations, or at-

Too Enthusiastic Spectator: "All for your own good, my boy!"
—*John Bull, London*

tempted explanations of the precise meaning of the many controversial provisions of the bill. For instance, precisely what is an "illegal strike"? Just what is "intimidation" and what "peaceful persuasion"? Who was a "culpable striker"? To such questions the Government gave reasoned replies, and in a number of instances accepted amendments clarifying or softening the terms of its bill. "I invite the cooperation of the House," declared the Prime Minister, "to find the best words which would give effect to the propositions which the Attorney-General has laid down." The Government also introduced or accepted amendments which, so far as the terms of the bill were concerned, placed associations of employers on the same basis as labor unions with reference to lockouts, political levies and other activities of industrial warfare. As to the four principles which the bill was intended to implement, however, the Conservatives were adamant.

THE DEUCE

The Italian Fascist newspapers give much praise to Mr. Baldwin's Trade Union bill. One of them publishes a cartoon showing John Bull trying on a Fascist cap

The Star, London

In view of the irreconcilable attitude of Labor, as revealed in the debate, it seemed evident that the leaders of this element in Britain were correct when they said that their followers would not accept the law when passed, save as they were forced to do so. In other words, the definition of the respective rights and liabilities of labor unions and employers, and of the relations of these two elements to the community at large in case of a struggle between them, will not be finally settled by the passage of the Trade Union act, but more probably will be made the outstanding, and most dangerous issue of British politics for some time to come.

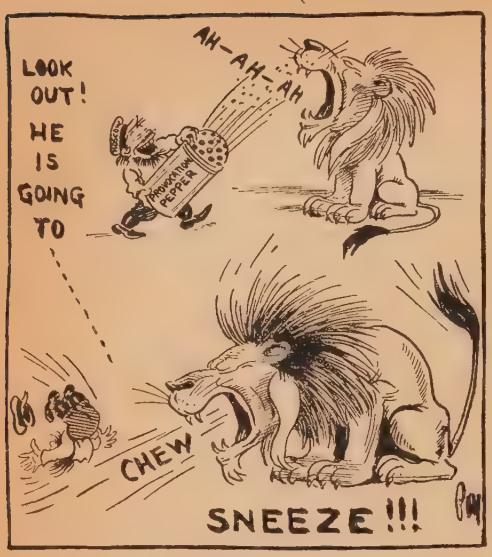
The fiftieth annual conference of the Liberal Party convened at Margate on May 26, with 1,500 delegates representing 509 Liberal associations in attendance. Liberal leaders declared that the party was still prepared to make a determined bid for a return to power. On June 1 the Liberal candidate won a hotly contested by-election at Bosworth by defeating both his Socialist and Conservative opponents.

The Cooperative Party, with 2,000,000 members, formally entered politics on June 9 by affiliating itself with the Socialists.

Other events of note during the month were the celebration of Empire Day, May 25; the state visit of President Gaston Doumergue of France; the dropping of the unemployed to less than 1,000,000 men, and the initiation in Scotland of the Government's scheme of consolidating and standardizing the country's electrical supply. An important event in Imperial history was the meeting of the first Colonial Office Conference, the purpose of which was to further the interests and increase the solidarity of the Crown colonies.

Ireland

THE Dail Eireann was dissolved by the Governor-General of the Irish Free State on May 23, and writs for a general election for the fifth Dail on June 9 were



MOSCOW AND THE BRITISH LION
—*Evening News, London*

issued. On June 1, 350 candidates were nominated for the 152 seats available. Eight parties were in the field, the Government group nominating almost 100 candidates, the de Valera group 90, Labor 50 and the National League 40.

Canada

SALE of liquor at Government stores throughout Ontario was begun on June 1. The new law, which replaced the prohibition statute, provides for the sale of intoxicants by the Government to persons possessing permits to buy. The permits are issued to adults who are not habitual drunkards and cost $2.

In the general election held on May 17, the Liberal Government of Quebec under Premier Taschereau was returned to power by an overwhelming majority, the Liberals winning 72 seats out of 85. The Independent Liberals won 2, the Conservatives 10, while in one constituency the contest was postponed. The chief issue of the campaign was the admission of American capital to the Province. The Conservatives accused the Liberals of selling the natural resources of Quebec to American capitalists and appealed to the nationalist feeling of the French-Canadians. Premier Taschereau replied that capital from the United States was necessary to develop the Province, and that his Government had amply protected the interests of all Canadians. [The life and career of Premier Taschereau are treated elsewhere in these pages.]

Preferential tariff relations between Canada and Cuba were established by a treaty recently concluded between the Dominion and the republic.

Australia

AS a result of the elections of April 16, John Allen, the Country-Nationalist Premier of Victoria, resigned on May 13 and was succeeded by E. J. Hogan, leader of the Labor Opposition. Having only 28 Labor members in a House of 65, the new Government will depend for its existence upon non-Labor votes. Mr. Hogan is the third Labor Premier of Victoria, and with the exception of South Australia all the States of the Commonwealth are now governed by Labor.

The bitter strife which for some time has divided the Labor Ministry in New South Wales culminated on May 26 with the virtual dismissal of his colleagues by Premier J. T. Lang. Mr. Lang himself resigned but was at once commissioned to form another Government, with the understanding that Parliament would be dissolved at an early date. Meanwhile, the more conservative elements of the national Labor Party were seeking to force the New South Wales Premier, who is denounced as an outstanding "red," from his position of leadership in that State.

On May 9 the Duke of York, representing King George V, inaugurated the new Federal Capital of Australia, Canberra, and opened the Commonwealth Parliament, which met for the first time at the new seat of Government.

South Africa

THE debate on the South African Flag bill at its second reading, which began May 23, revealed determined and increasingly bitter feeling on the subject among both the Dutch and British elements in the Union. The latter declared that the exclusion of the Union Jack would permanently outrage the English-speaking South Africans and also estrange the growing British communities in Kenya and the other East African dependencies from the Union. The Government expressed its determination to force the measure through and hold the popular referendum which the bill provides for.

South Africa expressed great interest in the proposal made at the London Colonial Conference for the formation of a federation of the East African self-governing British colonies. Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika and Northern Rhodesia were mentioned as possible members of the federation.

India

COMMUNAL riots at Lahore caused some 15 deaths and more than 200 other casualties during the first week in May. Quick action by British troops prevented the continuance and spread of the Moslem-Hindu fighting.

On May 27 the Viceroy opened a conference of representatives of the opium-growing Indian States and the Government to consider means for fulfilling the international agreements of India concerning the production and distribution of opium.

New Zealand

THE Minister of Finance of New Zealand stated on May 9 that although he had budgeted for an even balance, he had realized a surplus of £578,000 during the past financial year. The reduction of imports was less than had been anticipated and was compensated for by the higher duties levied on foreign goods when British manufacturers were unable to deliver supplies owing to the coal strike. The Minister declared the financial and economic position of the Dominion to be essentially sound.

[FRANCE AND BELGIUM]

Left Parties' Opposition to Poincare Government

By CARL BECKER
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A STRIKING feature of the month of May was the continued flow of capital from abroad into France, and the large and continued purchase by the French Government of gold and gold securities. On May 12 the weekly statement of the Bank of France showed purchases to the extent of 2,000,000,000 francs of foreign gold securities. At the end of the month the bank's reserve in foreign exchange was nearly 16,000,000,000 and it was estimated that, whereas its liabilities were less than 1,000,000,000, its assets were approximately 19,000,000,000. These purchases included a $40,000,000 purchase of gold from the Federal Reserve Bank and a $12,000,000 purchase of gold in London, giving to the Bank of France a reserve in gold and gold credits of about 75 per cent. of the total circulation.

These extensive operations during the month gave rise to the belief, often expressed before, that the Government was at last preparing to restore the franc to a gold basis. This belief, however, was unfounded. Premier Poincaré maintained his former position that the time for legal stabilization has not yet come. The object of the Government, in so far as it was responsible for the extensive purchase of gold and gold credits, was undoubtedly to maintain the present level of the franc. This was more than ever necessary in view of the growing discontent occasioned by the continued high cost of living. In spite of easy money conditions, resulting, on May 8, in an open market discount rate of 2½ per cent., economic and industrial conditions remained depressed, and there was still a considerable amount of unemployment. The result was a certain decline in the popularity and strength of the Ministry of National Union.

Discontent with the Government of National Union took the form, during the month, of a certain tendency toward the revival of the old Left Cartel. The discontent of the Radical Socialists was expressed by M. René Ranoult on May 17, speaking at the party federation at Arras. Briefly, he affirmed that the National Union was a fine thing for the Government, but was ceasing to be useful to the country. Artificial in its origin, he maintained that its

rôle was limited to the saving of the franc, and now that its aim had been attained its end was imminent, all the more so since it profited chiefly the "reaction," which had meantime "betrayed" it. The implication of M. Ranoult's speech was that the Radical Socialist party had for nearly a year subordinated itself for the purpose of saving the franc, but that it could not be expected to subordinate itself indefinitely for the purpose of keeping M. Poincaré and the Conservatives in power.

Meantime, at the Socialist Congress at Lyons, M. Léon Blum endeavored to make plain the relation of the Socialists to international communism on the one hand, and to the Radical Socialists, on the other. He affirmed that the principles of the Socialists and the Communists were essentially the same, but that their "methods" differed; whereas, in respect to the Radical Socialists, the principles of the two parties were different, but the ends aimed at were essentially the same. The implication of his statement was that the Socialist Party was too patriotic to join hands with the Bolshevists; too practical not to accept the Radicals as useful allies, in spite of the naïveté of Radical "principles."

This tentative approach of the two Left parties, reflecting the popular discontent, produced somewhat sudden and unexpected difficulties for the Government in respect to two measures before the Chamber of Deputies. One of these was the new tariff bill. The measure, designed to produce a revenue and at the same time to offset the commercial disadvantages occasioned by the American tariff, has proved unpopular because of the belief that it will increase the cost of living. On May 13, when the bill came up for discussion, the Government was barely able to defeat a motion for postponement by a vote of 267-248. The opposition, which came from the Left, was based on the ground (1) that the bill was badly drawn, and (2) that no bill should be passed until the results of the Geneva Tariff Conference were known. On May 17 the Government, in order to avoid possible defeat, agreed to postpone the discussion until July 1. Similar opposition was encountered in respect to the bill to confer the match monopoly on a Swedish-American company. On May 31 the bill was defended by Premier Poincaré, who pointed out that it contemplated a guaranteed loan of $80,000,000 for sixty years at 5 per cent., which could be applied to the American loan, with a saving of 3 per cent. The Left parties, not being in favor of paying the American debt on any terms, naturally did not find this argument effective; and their opposition was strengthened by the fact that three members of the Government (Herriot, Painlevé and Guenille) were known not to have approved the measure. Accordingly, when the bill was defeated on June 10, the outcome was interpreted as a personal check for the Premier and an indication of the Left's strength.

BRIAND'S TWENTY-FIVE YEARS IN PARLIAMENT

The celebration of the jubilee should be very imposing as all parties to which Briand has belonged are taking part.

—*Kladderadatsch, Berlin*

On the other hand, the announcement by the Premier on June 8 of a plan to deflate the currency to the extent of 10,000,000,000 francs was interpreted as a political gain, as it was felt the Left would be unwilling to take the right of interfering with Poincaré's work at such a critical moment.

Party discords were further accentuated by the outcome of the Communist arrests in April. On May 10 the Communist Deputy Marcel Cachin and ten others were condemned to imprisonment for having incited French soldiers to desert during the war in Morocco. The sentences could not be carried out until the Chamber of Deputies voted to waive the immunities enjoyed by Deputies. On May 13, in the appointment of a committee to consider the matter

of waiving the immunities of Cachin and his colleagues, the Communists were supported by Radicals and Socialists, who apparently engaged in sharp practice in order to elect a committee favorable to the condemned Deputies. On June 3 a furious debate occurred on the subject of the Communist activities, which ended in mutual recriminations of Right and Left. The former charged the latter with encouraging the Communists in order to keep control of the Government; the latter charged the former with responsibility for high taxes and high prices which kept communism alive. The disposition of the Radicals and Socialists to support the Communists was strengthened by the "Affaire Daudet." The famous Royalist leader, Léon Daudet, condemned to prison on a charge of "defamation," was invited by the police to surrender voluntarily, June 10 being fixed as the day. On June 1 Daudet announced in his paper, *L'Action Française*, that he would not surrender voluntarily, and even hinted at forcible resistance. In this attitude he had wide support. Meantime, the Communists and their supporters talked likewise of "war" in case of an attempt to arrest their leader, Marcel Cachin.

While party politics were being thus embittered, relations abroad appeared to be improved. The Rockefeller gift of $1,600,000, to continue the work of restoring historic monuments in France, announced May 26, and the dramatic flight of Lindbergh three days earlier did much to abate the feeling of hostility to America which has been in evidence for some months. The visit of President Doumergue and Minister Briand to England May 16 had a similar effect in renewing cordial feelings between the French and the English. The object of the visit was understood to be a confidential discussion of certain points of foreign policy, notably the evacuation of the Rhine, the Russian relations, the Chinese situation and the Balkans. On the first point it was reported that the two Governments were agreed that the question of evacuation would not arise until Germany had destroyed the Koenigsberg forts according to the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. On other matters there were apparently "divergent points of view."

[GERMANY AND AUSTRIA]

German Socialists Support Coalition

By HARRY J. CARMAN
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THE long-continued anxiety among other German republican parties lest the Socialists reject the principle of governmental cooperation with the bourgeois factions and bind themselves to uncompromising opposition was allayed at the opening of the party's annual convention on May 22. Former Chancellor Hermann Mueller, the party's parliamentary floor leader, in his keynote speech recalled the Socialist willingness to enter the Marx Cabinet, and declared: "We do not disavow in principle the duty of sharing the responsibility of government. Only through our collaboration can the public administration be republicanized."

For a long time it has been no secret that there has been more or less dissension in the Federal Cabinet owing to the conflicting ideas and aspirations of the various factions of which it is composed. The Nationalists are the principal troublemakers. With four portfolios in their possession they are in a position to block the Government at every turn. Nowhere is this better seen than in their attitude on Germany's present foreign policy. Ever since Chancellor Marx brought them into his Cabinet last January, the Nationalist representatives have done their best to oust Foreign Minister Stresemann. They are responsible for imperiling from time to time Stresemann's foreign policy, including important conciliatory negotiations for commercial understandings with other nations, particularly France and Poland. In the case of the latter, for example, the Nationalist Cabinet Ministers spent the Easter holidays making speeches which could result only in hampering, if not destroying, Stresemann's work. Food Minister Schiele, for instance, in speaking for the Junker agrarians, denounced the proposal of lower duties on farm products in

Germany, thereby directly contradicting Herr Stresemann who, apropos of the Geneva Economic Conference, insisted that tariff barriers must be reduced. A few days later another Nationalist Minister, Vice Chancellor Hergt, declared that Germany would never sign an Eastern Locarno reorganizing her Eastern frontiers, and that she awaited only the opportunity to abolish the Polish corridor and right the wrongs of the Upper Silesian division.

Utterances such as these do not make Herr Stresemann's task any easier. The Polish Government at once protested to Berlin about Hergt's speech. To save the day Stresemann held a private conversation with M. Olszowski, the Polish Minister, in which he assured him that the policy of the German Government had not changed and that German-Polish relations were regulated by the Locarno Treaty and not by exaggerated reports and misunderstandings. This closed the Hergt incident, but it did not allay Polish fears, for a few days later it was semi-officially rumored that Poland was seriously considering the

GERMANY'S REVIVAL
The light and the dark side.
—Groene Amsterdammer, Amsterdam

THE GERMAN AND FRENCH ARMED FORCES

"Get off, M. Reichswehr. The ass is quite good enough for you."

"No. As long as that fellow there sits on his elephant (the French armed State), I have a right to go on riding on my horse (the present Reichswehr force)."

—Kladderadatsch, Berlin

adoption of a sweeping measure for the protection of Polish labor, commerce and industry. By its terms Polish officials would be empowered to expel every foreign workman, mechanic, foreman, merchant or manager of commercial concerns whenever it thought that his competition might deprive Polish citizens of employment.

The Nationalists have a powerful weapon in their news agencies which provide service for most of the provincial papers. They also make use of the radio and, in some instances, have even dared to broadcast speeches not only prophesying but demanding Stresemann's overthrow. The recent trial in which Stresemann successfully prosecuted two Nationalists—Herr Mayer and Herr Mueller—was the direct outgrowth of Nationalist efforts to discredit the Foreign Minister. It was this same Nationalist effort that brought forth a sharp warning from Stresemann, just before the opening of the Reichstag early in May, that he would tender his resignation if his international policies were tampered with. To Stresemann, therefore, the action of the Socialists was a source of great satisfaction, for with their backing he is in a position to ignore much of the Nationalist opposition.

The long advertised "Steel Helmet" demonstration was held on May 8 in the Lustgarten, outside the former Imperial Palace, and was received with placid apathy, although three sons of the ex-Kaiser were in the line of march, and old army flags were flown and war songs sung. According to a Reichstag decree of May 17, the ex Kaiser will not be permitted to return to Germany for another two years.

After a seven-year inquiry a Reichstag committee appointed to pass on German war guilt filed its report—five immense volumes—with the Reichstag on May 18. According to this report, which exonerates the Reich of guilt, the Fatherland lived up to the rules of international law except in a few minor cases.

While the German Socialists, in convention at Kiel on May 24, were proclaiming their resolve to give the Communists the cold shoulder, the news of Socialist victories over both the more radical Reds and Nationalists poured in from the Mecklenburg State and the Dantzig Free City elections. In Mecklenburg, formerly the stronghold of Junkerism, the Socialists won an additional seat in the State Legislature, and in the Government coalition they dominate two seats, thereby depriving the Nationalists of all possibility of regaining executive power. The Dantzig returns were even more favorable to the Socialist ticket and proved a severe setback for the disciples of Bolshevism as well as for the advocates of monarchistic nationalism. The Steel Helmet League failed to conquer Mecklenburg as lamentably as its cohorts failed in Berlin a fortnight before, though the reactionary veterans ran automobiles and trucks for nationalistic voters and tried to intimidate the Republican element.

The Berlin Stock Exchange boom, which had been steadily growing for more than a year, collapsed on May 13, when the Reichsbank began to curtail speculative loans. The week's panic which ensued was unmatched for severity even during the worst stage of the deflation crisis. Boerse speculation, bankers assert, resulted in such a credit strain that the crash was inevitable. As a result of this, on June 10, the Reichsbank announced an increase of 1 per cent. in its discount rate.

The outstanding development last year in the European steel industry, and one which has considerable bearing upon the general steel export situation in the world, was the achievement of the German industry in selling to foreign consumers. Official records now available show that Germany last year regained her pre-war position as the leading steel exporting nation of the world, the total shipment of 1926 being 4,824,000 gross tons, with scrap not included, or at the rate of 402,000 tons per month, against about 2,000,000 and 3,000,000 for the United States and England, respectively. How this remarkable achievement compares with preceding years and with 1913 is shown in the following table, giving the exports in gross tons per month.

1926...402,000 tons 1924...128,000 tons
1925...267,600 tons 1913...517,300 tons

In 1913 the total included the exports of Luxemburg. With this allowed for, it is probable that in 1926 Germany virtually equaled her own pre-war record; a remarkable recovery in view of the fact that her steel-making territory was considerably lessened as a result of the war. Figures for January show that in the present year the rate is undiminished.

Austria

IN his address before the new Parliament on May 19, Mgr. Ignatz Seipel, Chancellor of Austria for the fourth time, intimated that the Austrian Government was, on the whole, inclined to favor the union of Austria and Germany. In fact, he declared that it was almost inevitable that

THE DAWES PLAN

How can this child (German industry) thrive when the fat pug (Dawes payment) takes all the cream of the dish (German labor power)?
—*Kladderadatsch, Berlin*

Austria and Germany should come at least to an economic understanding, and hinted that his Government would soon be prepared to present to the League of Nations a plan for the union of the Germanic peoples. This statement was not unexpected, for on May 6 the Peasant Party Deputies, who form two-thirds of the Chancellor's anti-Socialist majority in Parliament, voted to demand that Seipel bring a bill for union before the new Parliament and instruct Austria's League of Nations delegates to request the League's approval. Inasmuch as the Pan-Germans and the Socialists had already pledged their support to measures looking to union of the two German-speaking nations, a large majority of the members of the new Parliament will apparently favor the union program.

The resolution of the Peasant Party was materially strengthened by the industrial and financial depression which gripped Austria at the time. In many quarters it is thought that economic union will precede political union. Until recently Chancellor Seipel has not been overenthusiastic for union, but any objections he may entertain have been somewhat smothered by the insistent demand that some sort of a tariff and industrial arrangement be made with Germany immediately which will relieve Austria's economic distress.

While the Peasant Deputies were passing their resolution, Chancellor Seipel and his Ministers were in conference with leading German industrialists and bankers, who had journeyed to Vienna to investigate the condition of Austrian industries. The decision of this meeting was of equal importance to the union question, for it agreed that Austrian and German commissions should be appointed to arrange immediately a program for German help to Austria and to arrange an industrial and financial union as far as possible without conflicting with politics. Influential leaders in both countries, declared to be in favor of the union, will later draw up reports to this effect to be handed to their Governments.

Chancellor Seipel presented his new Cabinet, which the House accepted. Its composition is the same as the former Ministry except that the agrarian Deputy, Yarl Hartleb, takes the place of Franz Dinghofer as Vice Chancellor. This change was effected to allow the inclusion of the Farmer Party in the new coalition of anti-Socialists.

Considerable stir was caused in diplomatic circles in Vienna during the last weeks of May when it was disclosed that certain secret documents of the Austrian Foreign Office had been stolen and sold to foreigners. Many of the documents were reputed to have fallen into the hands of Bakonyi, a Russian commercial attaché. The affair aroused keen interest in the circles of political exiles of all nations who make Vienna their home and their centre of intrigue. The Austrian Government minimized the affair. Officials of the Foreign Office refused to comment on it, admitting that there was some basis for the report, but declaring it to be exaggerated.

[ITALY]

Italian Labor's Interest in the Rise of the Lira

By ELOISE ELLERY

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THE rise in the value of the lira has been the all engrossing event in Italy during the last few weeks. In the ensuing dislocation of wages and prices there are the inevitable heavy losses. The unusual circumstance in this case—namely, that the change is taking place under the Fascist plan of cooperation, lends a special interest to the situation. The question is not only how are the losses to be distributed between capital and labor, but how is the Fascist-Syndicalist State to stand the test? The whole situation is thus a matter of interest to the student of political theory, especially if he can view the scene from the safe distance of an observer. But to the Italians of every class, profession and status, it is a matter of vital and immediate importance, of economic well being or of economic failure.

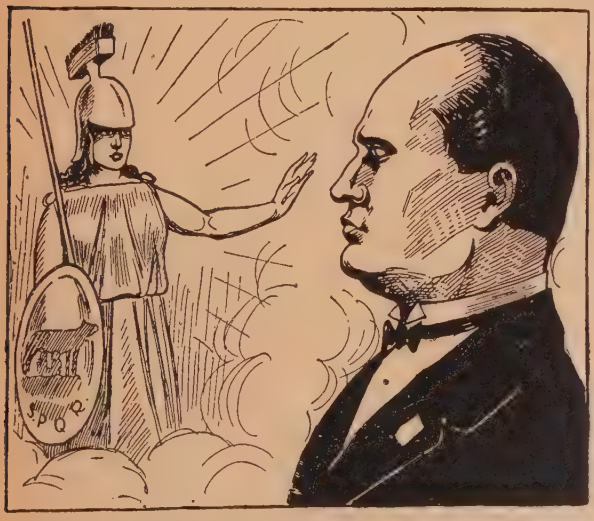
The present interest of the industrialist and the worker are diametrically opposed and naturally neither is anxious to sacrifice himself for the benefit of the other. Take

the case of the industrialist. The average wage of the Italian workman is from twenty-five to thirty lira per day. Till recently this was not much over a dollar, but with the rise of the lira it is now about a dollar and a half. This means that the employer's payroll is increased about 50 per cent. This rise in the cost of labor means in turn that the manufacturers may not be able to meet foreign competition. It is also feared that Italy may be flooded by foreign goods produced more cheaply than similar goods produced in Italy. The evil effects, it is pointed out, are already seen in the increased number of Italian failures. In 1925 and 1926 the number was less than twenty-five a day, whereas in the first three months of 1927 the number was more than thirty-five a day. In the thirteen business days from April 19 to May 4 inclusive there were 689 failures, either voluntary or involuntary, according to *Il Sole*, organ of the Milan Chamber of Commerce. Even so, the situation would have been worse had not several large banking and industrial institutions been saved by direct assistance from the Government. Moreover, the full effects of the depression are not yet felt. The remedy, according to the Confederation of Industry, is first to reduce the workers' salaries and then try to reduce their costs by a more scientific organization of industry.

Not so, say the workmen with no uncertain voice. Let the industrialists first lower the cost of production, and then only in case of urgent necessity lower wages. The standard of living of the working classes in Italy is notoriously low as it is, and though there has been some slight improvement in wage conditions since last Winter, even now, without any reduction, real wages are considerably lower than before the war.

"Upon what meat doth our great Caesar feed that he has grown so great?"
—*Philadelphia Inquirer*

Between these opposing interests the Government holds the balance of power. Without waiting for a further fall in prices before reducing wages, the Government attacked both sides of the problem by forcing reductions in wages and in prices at the same time, though it would appear that the attack on wages was the more drastic of the two. On May 5 a general downward revision in the wages of all civil, military and State employes, including railway men and the clergy, was decreed. It is to be applied according to a sliding scale ranging from 100 per cent. of the increase granted in April, 1925, in the case of the highest paid employes, to 30 per cent. of the same increase in the case of those most poorly paid. At the same time the Cabinet decided to decrease freight charges on State railroads by 15 per cent. for all goods destined for export, and voted other reductions for certain classes of goods.



Rome to Mussolini: "I was born through the efforts of Romulus and through your efforts, O Duce, I am reborn."
—*Il 420, Florence*

Other reductions in wages and in prices, especially in the retail trade, have followed. A 10 per cent. wage cut, it was reported, had been accepted on behalf of 150,000 workers in the cotton and textile industries by the Fascist Syndicalist organization, and similar reductions were pending among other workers. The physicians of Genoa have taken the initiative, which it is expected will be followed by other professions, by making a 5 per cent. reduction in their rates. The bakers of Avellino have accepted a similar cut in their wages, while those of Vercelli and Valesia have consented to an 11 per cent. cut. The printers of Florence will be paid 10 per cent. less than formerly, and the public utility employes at Trieste, Macerta and Avellino have given up the high cost of living allowance. Simultaneously, the Government has issued a list of more than 100 price reductions, which, however, are applicable almost exclusively to the cheaper grades of commodities. Rent reductions were decided on by the National Federation of Landlords. Acting on the request of Premier Mussolini the federation ordered its members to put new rates in effect on June 1, to be based on the principle that a fair rental should average four times the pre-war rate. In Turin the Confederation of Commerce induced shopkeepers to reduce prices 10 per cent. on ordinary articles, and from 25 to 50 per cent. on certain commodities. Similar reductions were ordered at Como, while at Rovigo the high cost of living allowance to farm workers was cut off. At Milan restaurant prices were cut 10 per cent., and at Montcalieri a case was reported of a landlord voluntarily reducing his rent from 10 to 20 per cent.

EXCELSIOR
The Italian Fascist Labor Charter.
—*Pasquino, Turin*

Much was made of the "voluntary" cooperation in these reductions as an evidence of the spiritual change which has come over Italy in the last few years. As a case in point was instanced the action of the peasants and agriculturalists in the Province of Brescia, who accepted 10 per cent. less wages for the coming year, at the same time expressing the pious hope "that their action, by indirectly contributing to lower the cost of living, would aid the Government in its fight to revalue the lira." Another manifestation of this new spirit was the action of the dockers of the harbor of Ancona who, during a particularly busy time, were reported to have volunteered to work far into the night without charging overtime. Of the fierce jealousies and bitter disputes which usually accompany the uncomfortable process of deflation practically nothing was heard. On the other hand, the "voluntary" character of the necessary adjustments has, to say the least, not been minimized.

In order to avoid further difficulties as far as possible, the Government announced on June 2 that it intended to stabilize the lira at its present value. The situation in the Autumn, it was announced, would determine further action.

Meanwhile the whole labor situation in Italy has resulted in friction at the International Labor Office at Geneva, arising from the opposition on the part of the workers' delegates from other countries to the acceptance of the credentials of Signor Rossoni, the President of the Fascist Syndicates, as Italian delegate. Signor Rossoni, they declare, does not represent the interests or the ideals of Italian workers, who have no real voice in the administration of their affairs or in the selection of their representative at the Geneva Conference, and therefore his appointment is a violation of the Labor Office Convention. The Fascist press, on the other hand, declared "that it is high time that Fascism ceased arguing at Geneva and that it must declare war on the Geneva representatives of the Amsterdam labor principles."

In the midst of the difficulties of carrying out the deflation policy, Premier Mussolini seized the occasion of a special address before the Chamber of Deputies to hold up before the country the picture of a transformed Italy. In a lengthy and vigorous speech ranging over a wide field from a tax on bachelors to the death rate from tuberculosis, from Black Hand depredations to freedom of the press, he reviewed the achievements of Fascism in the past and outlined his plans for the future.

Confronted by problems of disease both physical and social throughout Italy, a decrepit and ineffective democracy, and persistent opposition, Fascism, he declared, had already made phenomenal progress. Strict sanitary measures had been instituted, the provincial administration reorganized, municipalities reformed, the police purged, crime checked, political opposition repressed and labor and capital organized on a cooperative basis. Incidentally, in connection with new provinces on the frontier, he spoke of the Brenner boundary: "Even if," he declared, "for argument's sake there were in the Upper Adige hundreds of thousands of pure 100 per cent. Germans, our frontier on the Brenner is sacred and inviolable, and we shall defend it if it is necessary even with war."

As for those punished for political offenses, the numbers, he asserted, had been grossly exaggerated. Only 1,541 individuals had been warned, 1,959 admonished and 698 sent to forced domicile.

Then, turning to the future: "Today we announce to the world the creation of a new, powerful, unitarian Italian State from the Alps to Sicily. I must take upon myself," he declared, "the task of governing the Italian nation from ten to fifteen years longer. It is necessary. My successor is not yet born. Instead of its 40,000,000 of today Italy by that time should have 60,000,000. In this greater Italy legislative bodies will be elected through the corporative organizations of the State, there will be no room for a moribund democracy, and anti-Fascists, soon reduced to their last gasp, will cease to exist. The Fascist State neither needs nor brooks opposition." He continued as follows:

I tell you that in ten years' time Italy, this Italy of yours, will be unrecognizable to itself and to foreigners, because we will have radically transformed not only its face, but, which is far more important, its soul. In order to achieve our goal, we must at a given moment be able to mobilize 5,000,000 men thoroughly armed, we must strengthen our navy, while aviation, in which I believe more than ever, must be on such a large scale and so powerful that the noise of its motors must surpass any other noise and the area of the wings of our airplanes must obscure the sun from our land. Then, between 1935 and 1940, when we shall reach the crucial point in European history, we will be able to make our voice heard and see at last our rights acknowledged.

ITALY'S LABOR CHARTER

Mussolini: "Let me make a social gesture. Between two wars one must feed up the workers."

—*Simplicissimus, Munich*

The recent treaty of arbitration and conciliation between Italy and Hungary has had a marked repercussion in Rumania. Coming so soon after the ratification by Italy of the treaty recognizing the right of Rumania to Bessarabia—a ratification regarded by Rumania as an earnest of Italy's friendship—it aroused surprise, not to say consternation. The so-called "irredentist" movement in Hungary, the object of which is the return to Hungary of certain Magyar districts in Transylvania which became Rumanian after the war, is causing Rumania much concern. In such a situation she asks: Since the interests of Rumania and Hungary are diametrically opposed, can Italy be a friend to both parties?

The new excavations at Herculaneum were officially inaugurated on May 16 by King Victor Emmanuel.

Diplomacy and Politics in Southeastern Europe

By FREDERIC A. OGG

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THE event that attracted most attention during May and that had, at least potentially, the greatest importance, was the meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the Little Entente States at the Czechoslovak health resort, Joachimsthal, May 13-15. For seven years, the Czechoslovak-Yugoslav-Rumanian alliance has been a major factor in the international situation in Central Europe and the Balkans, and, on the whole, it has had a stabilizing and moderating effect. Its vigor has of late, however, been perceptibly impaired, and within recent months there have even been grounds for doubt as to its ability to survive. The Joachimsthal meeting was watched by all Europe to see whether there would be signs of rehabilitation or of further decline.

Founded originally only on common hate and common fear of Hungary, the Little Entente has experienced difficulty enough in reconciling the conflicting interests of its members with continued solidarity of attitude and action in the international arena. Hungary, of course, remains as a cause for deep concern. She undisguisedly covets territories now held by each of the allied States, and might—at least if Premier Bethlen were not one of the shrewdest and most cautious of Europe's statesmen—launch a very dangerous irredentist campaign. Futhermore, her recent rapprochement with Italy looks bad from a Little Entente viewpoint, particularly by reason of the strained relations between Belgrade and Rome. The Magyar State is now in a position to talk to the Little Entente Powers on terms of equality, instead of humbly, as heretofore, when Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Rumania seemed ready to pounce upon and dismember her if she offended them.

Nevertheless, the triple union has rested upon an increasingly insecure basis—so much so that when the recent conference assembled it was generally believed that unless some new and more substantial basis could be found the alliance would become a mere paper organization, or perhaps fade entirely out of the picture. It was a foregone conclusion that Yugoslavia would press for a joint stand against Italy, Rumania for a solid front against Russia, and Czechoslovakia for (among other things) a reiteration of undying hostility to the lately resuscitated proposal for a union of Austria with Germany. It was almost equally certain that each of these demands—especially the first two—would present serious difficulties for the Powers upon which they were made.

The meetings of the Premiers are, of course, private, and the newspapermen who gather from all parts of Europe invariably find it hard to elicit from the participants anything more satisfying than an official communiqué to the effect that the Powers are "in accord on all points"—without mention of the points. It was so on this last occasion. No agenda were announced; no public report was made; and the three Premiers—Benès of Czechoslovakia, Mitilineu of Rumania and Marinkovitch of Yugoslavia—were, if possible, more than usually reticent. The gentlemen of the press are, however, ingenious, and it is believed that the outcome of the meeting, at all events in all its more salient features, is rather fully and accurately known.

Begging for some sort of a united stand against Russia, the Rumanian envoy went so far as to propose that Poland be included in the Entente. Even before the conference Yugoslavia, however, had allowed it to become known that she intended to consider the possible recognition of the Moscow Government as an alternative to the support of the Western Powers in her dealings with Italy; and the only decision that could be arrived at was that each Entente member should be allowed a free hand in dealing with Russia, in view of the fact that the Russian question affected each differently and was an individual problem. Similarly, the Yugoslav minister's urgent plea for solidarity against Italy fell upon deaf ears. Dr. Benès was more or less sympathetic, provided Yugoslavia would not be too friendly to Hungary, as she is showing signs of becoming; but M. Mitilineu would not hear of such a thing.

And so it went with other matters, two days' discussion revealing that unity on

scarcely a single major political issue existed or could be hoped for. The upshot was—according to authoritative information obtained by the *New York Times* correspondent—that "although solidarity is to be continued in the future as a camouflage, each of the three member States will place all memoranda concerning a real alliance in a pigeonhole in its foreign office and concentrate its activities on building up a cultural, economic and commercial union." This course, it is understood, was suggested by the Rumanian delegate, M. Mitilineu, who broke the deadlock in which the puzzled ministers found themselves involved by pointing out that, in default of ability to agree, there was nothing for the member States to do but go each its own way in international politics and military alliances and recognize itself as bound only to cooperate in cultural and economic affairs, in which, it is felt, the three still have a good deal in common. Of course, no public announcement of this decision was made; on the contrary, the communiqué issued after the session reiterated the old formula that the delegates had met as the best of friends and discussed in detail various questions in which the Little Entente as a whole and its various members are interested—indeed, it was even denied that discord existed. But the consensus among observers was that in the future the Little Entente may be expected to take on, in its limited sphere, the functions of a League of Nations committee on intellectual cooperation plus those of a tri-State Chamber of Commerce. It was also generally felt that leadership in Little Entente affairs, such as they are, has been wrested from Dr. Benès by the Rumanian delegate, although the former has been in power since the Entente was founded, while the Joachimsthal meeting was M. Mitilineu's second conference. The next conference, set for January, 1928, is to be held at Bucharest.

The weakened position of the Little Entente is to be attributed mainly to the growing ascendency of Italy in Balkan affairs; at all events, every principal issue on which agreement proved impossible turned directly or indirectly on situations or problems in which the hand of Mussolini was plainly to be seen. By the same token, the outcome was a setback for France, who has consistently rested her ambition to be the arbiter of central and southeastern Europe upon the solidarity and permanence of the Little Triplice. In her quest for an ally against Italy, Yugoslavia will presumably orient toward France. But Rumania is almost equally certain to look to Great Britain as her main support against Russia; while Czechoslovakia will be guided, above all else, by any new developments in a problem which is vital for her, though not a major concern for either Rumania or Yugoslavia, i. e., the proposed German-Austrian union.

The Hungarian-Italian treaty of friendship, framed and signed during Premier Bethlen's visit to Rome in early April, was ratified by the Budapest Parliament on May 19, by a vote of 126 to 13. The sitting in which the action was taken was, however, stormy, principally because of the vigorous opposition of the Socialist members, who denounced Mussolini as a "murderer," attacked the treaty as a betrayal of Hungarian nationalism, and argued that the compact made the country a "colony" of Italy and a base for Italian domination of the Balkans. Premier Bethlen defended the treaty, and otherwise spoke of Mussolini, and of Italy, in such terms as to forecast the closest relations between the two nations as long as the present régimes remain in power. Urging that the alliance is economic, not political, and that it would not draw Hungary into arguments — much less war — with her neighbors, he declared that the compact had given back to Hungary some of the dignity, if not the territory, which she lost by the treaty of Trianon; that Hungary wants a "strong Italian guard on the Adriatic and the Mediterranean," while Italy on her part has an interest "that a strong Hungary should live in the valley of the Danube"; and that, while relations with Yugoslavia are not endangered, the treaty "breaks the hostile ring which the Little Entente has placed around Hungary," relieves her of a "great menace" and enables her to "form new foreign policies." Incidentally, the Premier expressed the opinion that the difficulties between Italy and Yugoslavia had been overemphasized and that there would be no real trouble between the two States.

Meanwhile preparations are afoot for the future use of Fiume as a Hungarian free port. A commercial delegation headed by Baron Joseph Szterenyi and representing the Budapest Government, left for Rome on May 10, charged with drafting an agreement with the Italian Government on the subject, and also with opening negotiations on the question of Hungary's pre-war debts to Italy and on other financial matters.

Discussion at Budapest of the new treaty with Italy brought the throne question

again to the fore and called forth from Premier Bethlen vehement denials that he had urged the candidacy of Archduke Albrecht upon the Dictator during the recent interviews in Rome, and, indeed, that the subject was talked over at all. Fearing, however, that the Italian treaty would be turned to account in the re-establishment of the throne in the next few years, with Prince Otto out of the picture, the Legitimists were but half convinced and were, indeed, only lukewarm supporters of the agreement. Their efforts at present are directed toward seeing that Otto is given a Hungarian education and preparing the way for ex-Empress Zita to re-establish her family on her private estates at Raczkeve. Their hope, however, of getting Otto back into Hungary in the near future was dashed by unequivocal assertions of the Premier, during the last week of May, that he would not allow the question of a King for Hungary to be discussed and in no case would countenance a restoration of monarchy during the five years of the new Parliament.

Any hope that Yugoslavia may have had for a revision of the Italo-Albanian treaty of Tirana by which she would become a third party in a three-Power pact, or for a separate treaty with Albania tending to counterbalance the Tirana instrument, was officially and effectively dashed by the publication, on May 14, of a joint declaration by the Italian and Albanian Governments that the two nations were not disposed to enlarge or otherwise alter the scope of the much-discussed agreement. The announcement, which was made, perhaps significantly, while the Little Entente conference was in progress at Joachimsthal, read as follows:

By an exchange of notes made on April 26, 1927, between the head of the Government and General Gemil-Dino, Albanian Minister in Rome, both the Italian and Albanian Governments, desirous of solemnly affirming the solidarity and complete agreement existing between them on all questions which either may arise out of the pact of friendship and security signed at Tirana on Nov. 27, 1926, or may in any way concern the relations happily existing between the two Governments, have agreed upon the following declaration:

The Governments of Italy and Albania declare that, if requested either jointly or separately by one or more Powers to enter into negotiations which relate to the interpretation or application of the treaty of Tirana, or the participation in it of third States, or which in any way affect the relations between Italy and Albania, neither of the two Governments will take part in such negotiations without previous consultation on the subject between Italy and Albania, or without a perfect agreement and a simultaneous participation of both countries in such negotiations.

The underlying tension existing between Yugoslavia and Albania was evidenced by the diplomatic break which occurred early in June over an incident of little apparent significance. M. Gjuraskovitch, an "attaché" of the Yugoslavian legation in Tirana, was arrested by the Albanian Government on a charge of espionage. Yugoslavia immediately protested on the ground that he was entitled to diplomatic immunity, but Albania contended that he was an Albanian citizen and, therefore, not entitled to it. As Albania refused to release the prisoner, the Yugoslav Chargé d'Affaires, his staff, and consuls left Albania on June 5 and the Albanian Minister at Belgrade was handed his passport with forty-eight hours' notice. Albania, without delay, laid its side of the case before the Secretariat of the League of Nations, it being rumored that this was at Italy's suggestion. The latest reports on June 8 were that the Albanian Minister had not yet left Belgrade and that a peaceable settlement was hoped for without League intervention.

Another important event during early June was the fall of the Averescu Cabinet at the demand of King Ferdinand, who then entrusted to Prince Barbu Stirbey the task of forming a national Government. The event was regarded as an unequivocal victory for former Premier Ionel Bratiano, who had been attacking Averescu's policies for over a year. The new Premier, on June 6, announced the tentative composition of his ministry as follows:

PRINCE BARBU STIRBEY—Premier, Minister of Interior and ad Interim Foreign Minister.
MIHAL POPOVICI—Finance.
GREGORY JUNIAN—Labor.
PAN HALIPPA—Public Works.
M. ARGETOIANU—Domains and Industry.
STELIAN POPESCU—Justice.
NICHOLAS LUPU—Public Instruction and Health.
ALEXANDER LAPEDATU—Cults.
GENERAL PAUL ANGELESCU—War.
M. DIMITRIU — Communications and Public Works.

The first act of Prince Stirbey on assuming office was to dissolve Parliament and order new elections for July 7.

The Anglo-Soviet Diplomatic Rupture

By ARTHUR B. DARLING
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THE British ultimatum of Feb. 23 was followed up much more sharply than most observers could have expected after Sir Austen Chamberlain let the Soviet reply of Feb. 26 go unanswered. When the Government did not press its case at that time, although declaring that the Soviets had broken the Trade Agreement of 1921, many thought that the "Die-Hard" Conservatives had been satisfied with the warning to the Bolshevists. For Britain's growing trade with the Soviet Union was to be considered. Moreover, conditions in China appeared to be improving for the British and other capitalistic interests and growing worse for the cause of communism and "world revolution."

Chiang Kai-shek broke with the Communist wing of the Kuomintang, and its influence seemed to be waning. The Peking Government, dominated by Chang Tso-lin, authorized a raid upon the Soviet Legation in Peking on April 6, seized its papers and executed Chinese Communists, who were found to be involved in Russian activities. Some of the papers taken from the Legation were published by the Peking Foreign Office. Those which were reprinted in *The New York Times* on June 1 showed unmistakably that, violating the Agreement of 1924 between the Chinese and Soviet Governments, the Soviet Legation in Peking had indulged in espionage and propaganda unfavorable to China; that there were close relations as to personnel and finances between the Executive Committee of the Communist International in Moscow and Communists working with the Kuomintang to "discredit the activity of Chang Tso-lin" and to "organize anti-European disturbances in China." No matter how gravely the Soviet leaders might reiterate their contention that the Soviet Government and the Communist International were two distinct organizations, foreigners simply could not believe it after the publication of these papers from the Soviet Legation in Peking.

The British Government was not content with the revelations in Peking of Soviet machinations against Great Britain. On May 12 representatives of Scotland Yard and the London police made a spectacular raid upon Soviet House, the quarters of Arcos, Ltd.—the trading company for the Soviet cooperative societies—and of the Soviet Trade Delegation itself, without regard for its claim to diplomatic immunity. At first the reason for the raid was kept secret, but later Sir William Joynson-Hicks, Home Secretary, told the Commons that a document pertaining to military secrets which had been stolen from the Government had been traced to the premises of Arcos, Ltd. After obtaining the consent of the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary, he had ordered the police to make the search. He admitted that the document had not been found, but said that other papers had been seized which justified his action. Plans were stopped short which had been under way for the financing by the Midland Bank of business transactions between British contractors and the Soviet authorities to the amount of £10,000,000.

Five days after the raid, Litvinov, acting Commissar of Foreign Affairs, presented a note of protest to the British Chargé d'Affaires, in Moscow, declaring that the British authorities had violated the immunity granted to the Soviet Trade Delegation by the Trade Agreement of 1921 "in the grossest and most insulting manner." The note asserted that "apart from the question of treaty rights" the police raid was in itself "a most serious hostile act, without doubt jeopardizing the further preservation of relations between the interested States." It denied that any actions of the Trade Delegation had given justification for the raid. Litvinov added:

> Actually the police raid on the premises of the Soviet Trade Delegation and the motives underlying this action clearly show where the true reasons for the unsatisfactory [state of] Soviet-British relations should be sought. As against the unfounded accusations made against the Soviet Government, absolutely unconfirmed by any proofs, although often repeated, on the ground of non-observance of obligations undertaken and violation of the rules of international relations, the Soviet Government can produce absolutely unquestionable proof of violation by the British Government of the Soviet-British Agreement of 1921, and of the most offensive handling of persons enjoying the right of diplomatic immunity, while the requirements of international law and rec-

ognized international usages were totally ignored.

But Litvinov did not submit that proof in his note to the British Chargé, nor did he present the ultimatum which was to be expected if his accusations were true. Instead, he referred to the value to Great Britain of its trade with the Soviet Union and asked the British Government whether it desired to preserve that trade or hamper it. He insinuated that the raid was an electioneering manoeuvre, the result of "fantastical ideas" of certain members of the Conservative Government.

It was clear from Litvinov's note that the Soviet authorities were not anxious to break with Great Britain. Their pronouncement for home consumption was: "The workers and peasants contemptuously spurn capitalistic provocation." They professed that their reason for such a policy of non-resistance was their devotion to peace. But it is also obvious that they need foreign credits and trade to produce new capital for their industries, machinery and manufactured goods not to be had from their own factories, and markets for their exports of grain and petroleum.

Prime Minister Baldwin on May 24 announced to the Commons that, unless the House disapproved after the debate two days later, the Government would terminate the Trade Agreement with the Soviet Government, require the withdrawal of the Trade Delegation and the Soviet Mission from London, and recall the British Mission from Moscow. He made it plain, however, that the British Government would be prepared to make all arrangements necessary for ordinary trading facilities between the two countries. In support of the Government's decision, Mr. Baldwin put before the House some of the documents which had been seized in the raid upon Arcos and the Trade Delegation and declared that they proved "the existence, under the direct control of the Soviet authorities, of a regular system whereby documents of a subversive character from various organizations in Russia were conveyed secretly to various persons engaged in Communist activity in this country and elsewhere." In other words, evidence had once more been uncovered which proved that the distinction between the Soviet Government and the Communist International was mere pretense.

The British Prime Minister, however, did not rest his case solely upon the discoveries in Soviet House. He proceeded with evidence to show that the Soviet Government

THE PRODIGAL'S RETURN

Russia is emerging from its disastrous isolation and taking part in an international conference

—Western Mail, Cardiff, Wales

had broken the Trade Agreement of 1921 by its activities against British interests in China. According to the agreement, each party was to refrain from "hostile action or undertakings against the other and from conducting outside its own borders any official propaganda, direct or indirect, against the institutions of the British Empire or the Russian Soviet Republic respectively." Mr. Baldwin read a telegram, dated Nov. 12, 1926, from the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs to the Soviet representative in Peking, which implicated the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs directly in the activities of Borodin, notwithstanding the express assertions of Litvinov and Rosengolz, the Soviet Chargé at London, that Borodin was a private citizen with no connection with the service of the Soviet Government. Mr. Baldwin read other papers which revealed that the Soviet Chargé at London himself had been involved in schemes to manufacture news from China unfavorable to Great Britain. The case of the British Government was completed with the following telegram from Rosengolz on April 13 to the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs in Moscow:

THE EUROPEAN EQUILIBRIUM
The Russian Bear on the Seesaw.
—*Kladderadatsch, Berlin*

I very much doubt the possibility of a raid on our Embassy. I would, however, consider it a very useful measure of precaution to suspend for a time the forwarding by post of documents of friends, "neighbors," and so forth, from London to Moscow and vice versa. Telegraph your decision immediately. In the telegram sent in reply it is desirable to mention that the instructions emanate from the institutions concerned.

After reading such documents it was hardly necessary for the Prime Minister to tell the House that he and his colleagues had at last decided to break relations with the Soviet Government.

Upon learning of Baldwin's speech in Commons, Litvinov issued a statement to the press. He said that the British action was the logical and final issue of the anti-Soviet policy which the present Conservative Government has pursued from the very day when, having deceived their electorate through a forged document [a reference to the Zinoviev letter], they came into power. All through its existence this Government has not ceased anti-Soviet intrigues with the object of isolating and weakening the Soviet Union so as to destroy it the more successfully. * * * The rupture of diplomatic relations cannot be estimated otherwise than as an energetic preparation for war.

The British Labor leaders endeavored to have the break postponed until a select committee had examined the documents and inquired into the facts. They dreaded the effect upon British business and an increase of unemployment. Lloyd George, speaking for the Liberals, accepted the evidence submitted by the Conservative Government, but questioned the wisdom of its "leap in the

dark" at the very time when "the Stalin Government and the moderate elements in that Government were gradually restraining the activities of those people who were provocative and making mischief for us." But the Ministry chose to consider the Labor Party's motion as a "vote of censure" and ignored the suggestion of Lloyd George that Stalin was getting the upper hand over the radicals in Russia. Heeding the Conservative declaration that sometimes the continuance of diplomatic relations may be a menace to peace, the House supported the Government's decision to break with the Soviet Government without further inquiry by a vote of 367 to 118.

Sir Austen Chamberlain on May 27 notified the Soviet Chargé that the limits of British patience had been reached and that diplomatic relations with the Soviet Government were at an end. He promised to give Rosengolz a list of the Russian employes of Arcos who might remain and carry on the legitimate trading of that organization. Others were to have ten days within which to withdraw from the country. On the same day Mr. Baldwin took special pains to declare publicly:

> Our decision was not the result of a deep-laid plot to get up a world combination against Russia. On the contrary, as the Foreign Secretary said, we refrained for a long time from breaking with Moscow out of consideration for our Continental allies and friends. But the Soviet made it impossible for us to maintain that attitude by their refusal to listen to our repeated warnings. It is part of their propaganda to represent our policy as one which aims at war and which is based on forgery. I wish, therefore, to state emphatically that our rupture of diplomatic relations does not in any way mean or imply war against Russia.

The Soviet leaders, of course, declared that the evidence which the Conservative Government secured in the raid upon Arcos, Ltd., and the Soviet Trade Delegation was forged and placed in Soviet House by the British police themselves. Litvinov elaborated his previous declarations with the suggestion that the British Government broke with the Soviet Government out of resentment because the British policy in China was being defeated. Tomsky, head of the Soviet Trades Unions, asserted that Great Britain would make an open attack upon the Soviet Union within a month or a year, and that every effort must be made to develop the Soviet's military and economic defenses. Brukanov, Commissar of Finance, utilized the tension among the Russian people to call upon them to mobilize their hoarded savings in the State banks for the country's defense. Rykov, Chief Commissar, solemnly declared before the Moscow Soviet on June 1 that the British Government wished to improve its position by provoking war, but that the Soviet Government would oppose that purpose with a steady policy of peace. The outbursts of Zinoviev, Radek and others were renewed in opposition to the slow policy of Stalin's Administration in China, but foreign observers in Moscow noted that all factions in the Communist Party united in one opinion —that Russia did not want war. And, if the British Prime Minister can hold his country to the course which he has announced, it does not seem likely that war will result from the diplomatic break between Great Britain and the Soviet Union.

To American onlookers Great Britain appears to have fallen back to the position which their own country took and has maintained ever since the beginning of Communist rule in Russia—to have no official relations with that Government until it acknowledges the financial obligations which were incurred by previous Governments in Russia and gives satisfactory proof that it does not indulge in activities designed to subvert the Government of the United States. Great Britain seems to have reached the conclusion that the principle of non-interference with its own internal affairs must be insisted upon, no matter if so many of the Communist activities upon investigation have proved inconsequential and ridiculous. The action of the British Government should make clearer to the Bolshevists that they cannot use one mouthpiece to urge foreigners to have confidence in the Soviet régime and to invest their capital in Russia and the next moment use another to shout battle-cries against the capitalistic structure of foreign nations.

Another tense situation involving Russia arose on June 7 when Peter Voikov, the Minister to Poland, was assassinated in Warsaw by Boris Korenko, the nineteen-year-old son of a former Czarist official. A sharp note was immediately dispatched from Moscow to Warsaw, as the first impression evidently was that Poland was in some way responsible, but on Poland's refutation of all charges and offer to indemnify M. Voikov's widow, the Soviet tone was changed.

Dispatches on June 10 from Russia told of the execution of twenty persons accused of counter-revolutionary activities, a sequel, it was believed, to the anti-Red attacks in other countries.

The Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of King Alfonso's Reign

By JOHN MARTIN VINCENT

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THE twenty-fifth anniversary of King Alfonso's reign was celebrated on May 17 with great festivity. It was, at the same time, his forty-first birthday and many harked back to the year 1902, when, as a youth of 16, he became legally of age and ascended the ancient throne of Spain as the thirteenth of his name. The day was declared a public holiday, and although the King officially requested that the occasion be marked by no public celebrations, nevertheless the public was bound to have festivity. So much so that the Government was finally moved to say that the national wish to express loyal sentiments was legitimate and permitted certain ceremonies, which were celebrated with evident genuine emotion.

Looking back over his reign of a quarter of a century, it is evident that the King of Spain has not had an easy task. In 1902 the country was just recovering from the shock to its pride received in the war with the United States, for it took the Spanish people some time to discover that they had been relieved of a burden in the loss of Cuba. The position of Spain in the European family of nations was decidedly inferior. As to domestic problems, the monarch had sworn to observe the Constitution of 1876, under which the law-making body was the Cortes (Parliament), consisting of a Senate, partly appointed for life, and an elected House of Representatives. The form of this Parliament was theoretically correct, but in it were the delegates of ten or a dozen political parties, including even advocates of a republic. While a conservative majority was usually in power, the balance was so even and the rivalry of the leaders so intense that continual changes of Government took place and political intrigue became the order of the day, with corruption and inefficiency as the result. In the background stood the army, which at times assumed formidable power in politics. However, since military affairs in great measure were lawfully in the hands of the sovereign, Alfonso was thus provided with a powerful, if rather dangerous, ally.

In connection with the discontent which ended in the recent dictatorship, there is nothing to show that the move was made with the previous knowledge of the King, though, like every one else, he was tired of the inefficiency of Parliament and accepted the change with alacrity. During the past three years certain modifications of the government program have been evidently due to Alfonso, and because of his personal popularity he has not been thrown completely in the shade.

Newspaper reports of political affairs in Spain have been an interesting study during the month. The Government has repeatedly stated that its work was not finished and that the suspension of the Constitution ought to continue at least two years more, the press at the same time being invited to express opinions on the course to be followed. Censorship was relaxed and comments were freely printed upon the principles to be adopted, provided no strictures upon the present activities of the dictatorship were included. The ensuing debate covered every point of view, from the conservative stand that the old Constitution, if completely applied, needed no revision to those that wished the work of revision done by a Constituent Assembly elected by universal suffrage.

As a matter of fact, the dictator has gained no support from important men of the old régime, and though the old political warhorses and their followers have been kept out of the ring, they show no signs of retreat or desertion. As long as government is carried on by royal decree there is no need to conciliate these former politicians, but as soon as any relaxation of autocratic rule is contemplated they must be reckoned with, on account of their influence in the country among the electorate. The postponements have been due to the trouble in devising an Assembly which was not too openly controlled by the dictator, while avoiding a popular election.

On May 8 Premier de Rivera addressed an enormous meeting of the Patriotic Union and reaffirmed his view that the work of the dictatorship must continue. On May 11 cables from Spain affirmed that the project for a National Assembly appeared to be definitely dead. There ensued the celebration of the King's birthday, when the country was filled with patriotic fervor and perhaps with the memories of the past rather than dreams of the future, but if there were any expectations that an announcement about the National Assembly would be a part of the ceremonies they were disappointed. Then, on May 31, the dictator exploded a political bomb with the following announcement: "The long-awaited opening of the National Assembly will take place on Sept. 13, anniversary of the act which placed the military directory in power in 1923."

Further provisions are that the Assembly, composed of men appointed by the Government, will, with the consent of the Government, draft a new Constitution to supersede all previous ones. A new electoral law will provide for universal suffrage and absolute freedom of the ballot. These accomplished, elections will be held for members of Parliament, which body will then be asked to ratify the new Constitution. Numerous questions, always with the consent of the Government, will be laid before the Constituent Assembly, such as fiscal and administrative matters. In particular, there will be an extensive inquiry into the acts of Spanish governments during the past twenty years, with the view of fixing responsibilities, and, if warranted, evidence will be laid before courts of law.

General de Rivera uttered a note of warning to voters that, regardless of whom they elect, they must avoid "Russian ideas." This election will be a crucial test for the Government and general disapproval may mean a return to the old political practices.

The reactions of the next few days showed a conflict of opinion regarding the Assembly. The majority of the newspapers declared that it would be without result, the principal objection being that a change in the present Government would undo all that has been accomplished, while liberal elections, which would show the real state of public opinion, are impossible at the present time. There is no assurance that the National Assembly will actually meet on the day appointed, for there is time for many things to happen to the Spanish political machine.

Switzerland

THE Swiss Communist Party recently held its fourth congress at Basle, attended by eighty-eight delegates. The President, Herr Welti, a member of the Swiss Parliament, in his review of the economic situation, pointed out that the dividends of the big industrial undertakings had increased; that the borrowings both of industry and of the Federal and Cantonal Governments had been very much reduced; that Switzerland was now exporting large sums of capital and that this flow of money was tending to associate the Swiss bourgeoisie more closely with the Great Powers. But the agricultural industry was going through a bad time and the Communist Party should seize the opportunity to gain adherents among the peasants. Communist propaganda is therefore likely to be intensified in the country districts during the coming months.

Since the expulsion of the Soviet Economic Mission, because of its connection with the Swiss general strike of 1918, the Swiss Communists have kept comparatively quiet, but have maintained their secret organizations and activities. Although Switzerland does not recognize the Soviet Government, there remain certain links between Moscow and the Swiss Communists, through the Soviet Red Cross Mission at Berne and the secret agencies maintained at Zurich and Geneva, and the party has a permanent Swiss representative at Moscow who is a member of the presidium of the Communist International. The Swiss Communist Party is not formidable in size, but many of its secret agents are actively at work among non-Communist organizations, especially in the Swiss Socialist group.

Norway

LABOR troubles in Norway appeared in April to be beyond solution. Sixteen thousand workers were idle, as many more were threatening to join the strike and the mediation board appointed by the Government, failing to bring the parties together, had suspended operations, so that the outlook was grave. In May, however, the lockout of three months was brought to a close by act of legislature when the Storthing adopted a law making arbitration com-

pulsory for all sorts of labor conflicts. The bill was opposed both by employers and employes, but the lawmakers looked upon it as the only remedy, as continual strikes and lockouts threatened the community with ruin. The conflict just ended cost approximately $1,000,000.

Sweden

THE Socialists and Communists in the Riksdag have put through the Government's educational bill, entirely remodeling the Swedish school system, its main feature being the establishment of the popular primary six-year schools as the basis for all education, practically eliminating all private initiative. The proposal was unanimously opposed by all university and high school authorities, as well as by the majority of the educated classes.

Both chambers approved a bill barring from entrance all foreigners intending to take up work in Sweden, unless special permission from the Department of Labor is obtained. The law, which is valid for five years, was necessitated by the abolishment of passport visas for most foreign countries and is regarded as a protective measure, especially against an invasion of German laborers.

Sweden has recently been developing many industrial projects in Turkey. The L. M. Ericsson Telephone Company began the installation of a telephone system in Smyrna, having recently completed a similar order for Angora. The Nydquist & Holm Company recently obtained an order for the building of an extensive net of railroads in Turkish Asia Minor, to be completed within five years at a cost of about 30,000,000 Turkish pounds. Swedish forest experts have been invited to Angora to supervise the reforestation of Anatolia and the preservation of existing forests, and Swedish experts have been invited to reorganize the educational system.

[TURKEY AND THE NEAR EAST]

The Present Political Situation in Egypt

By ALBERT HOWE LYBYER

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FROM 1882 until 1914 the theoretical political situation of Egypt was sufficiently complicated. The ultimate sovereignty of the land was accounted as belonging to the Sultan of Turkey; the actual administration appeared to be conducted by the Khedive and his council of ministers; and the English Government maintained a "temporary occupation," which was evidenced by soldiers in Cairo and Alexandria and near the Suez Canal, and by a "Consul-General and Diplomatic Agent" with a staff, some of whose members assisted in each office of the central Government and worked beside each important official in the local Government.

The war appeared to simplify the situation, in that it declared the bond with Turkey broken, and substituted for the "temporary occupation" a protectorate. The "Declaration Concerning Egypt" in 1922, followed by the assumption on the part of the former Khedive of the title of King, apparently accomplished further simplification, since except for certain unsettled questions, Egypt seemed to have become independent, with the prospect of ordinary treaty relationship with Britain. The proclamation of a Constitution and the election under its provisions of a Parliament appeared only to be rounding out the form of a constitutional monarchical Government.

The excitement and the British action which accompanied the assassination of Sir Lee Stack in October, 1924, led to a course of events which obscured for some two years and a half the fact that the political organization of Egypt was still far from simple. Ziwar Pasha without a Parliament worked in close harmony with British wishes. After Adly Pasha had succeeded to the Premiership, quiet and harmony continued to prevail, except for occasional small difficulties between himself and the Parliament. In time, however, Adly's position became so uncomfortable that he was glad to yield his post in April of the present year to Sarwat Pasha, and the few weeks of the latter's incumbency in office have sufficed to show distinct possibilities of antagonistic action.

The fact is that the power of decision in

matters of general importance to Egypt is claimed, as regards different groups of questions, by no less than four authorities, all of which seem to possess more or less autonomy. The King holds his place by hereditary right, confirmed by the provisions of the Constitution. Hitherto, King Fuad has been content to remain in the background, gracing public receptions by his presence, honoring different cities and districts of Egypt by official visits, and holding carefully aloof from controversial questions. The second, and apparently the most active, force is wielded by the Prime Minister and his Cabinet. Nominally appointed by the King, constitutionally responsible to the Parliament, and obliged by the external situation to take constant heed of British wishes, the rôle of the Prime Minister has tended to become increasingly difficult. The third and the newest force is wielded by the Egyptian Parliament. At a time when in certain Western lands the authority and influence of elected legislative bodies tend to diminish, distinct signs appear in the Parliament of Egypt of a desire not only to participate in legislation and control of finances, but to direct in greater and greater detail the policy and action of the Cabinet and to restrict the rôle of the King. The feeling grows that Parliament holds a mandate from the people, who are really the nation, and that all things should be done under its direction. The fourth force is exercised by the British Government through its High Commissioner and other representatives in Egypt. Still maintaining garrisons at important points, holding powerful warships near at hand, and evidently regretting somewhat the extent of the field left free for independent Egyptian action, the British watch jealously any attempt to restrict further the area retained by themselves.

Recent events have illustrated both the tendency of Parliament to endeavor to control the Cabinet and restrict the King's powers further, and the unwillingness of England to allow any diminution of her powers. Sarwat Pasha's Cabinet, like Adly's, represents a coalition of parties, and in fact contains several men who were members of the previous Cabinet. When the new Prime Minister made his first appearance before Parliament on April 27, he was received in silence, except for moderate applause at the end of his speech. Later the Liberal Parliamentary Committee protested against the King's refusal to nominate in the Cabinet Hafiz Bey Affifi, who had been chosen by Sarwat Pasha after conference with the chiefs of the Liberal Party.

Within three weeks a Cabinet crisis arose in connection with an administrative question. A bill was under discussion to provide for the election of Omdahs, or village mayors, as opposed to their appointment by the Government, which latter practice has come down from remote times. On May 28 certain Deputies met the Prime Minister and asked him to reinstate a certain Omdah who had been dismissed. Sarwat Pasha took the position that this was an unwarranted interference of the legislative with the executive branch of government. He decided to resign and began to prepare a document of resignation. The crisis was averted by the action of Zaghlul Pasha, who first advised postponement, and then came up to Cairo, reprimanded the offending Deputies, and soothed the feelings of Sarwat Pasha, so that he consented to continue in office. It might perhaps be said that this outcome reveals the presence of a fifth force in Egyptian affairs which is more powerful than any other, unless it be that wielded by the British Government—namely, the personal authority of Zaghlul Pasha.

Two weeks later a new crisis arose over an Egyptian proposal to increase the size of the Egyptian Army, at the same time vesting the power to control it in the Army Council, as opposed to the existing control by the British Sirdar. The Parliamentary War Committee also "regretted its inability to recommend a continuance" of the annual contribution of $3,750,000 toward the Sudan Administration, "in the absence of information in regard to its disposal." The British Government promptly addressed a note to the Egyptian Government, which was presented by Lord Lloyd to Sarwat Pasha on May 30. At the same time two battleships were ordered from Malta to Alexandria and one to Port Said. The note was said to be moderate in language, but requested the Egyptian Government "to put forward proposals as to how the necessary British cooperation in the military affairs of the country may be most effectively secured." The attitude of the Egyptian Government was that the Egyptian Army did not constitute one of the reserved points in the declaration of 1922, and that therefore its constitution was no affair of the British Government.

Sir Austen Chamberlain, British Foreign Secretary, stated in the House of Commons that Egyptian politicians were endeavoring to strengthen the Egyptian Army

in order to convert it into a weapon at the disposal of the Nationalist Party, and that Britain could not permit its task of defending the Suez Canal and the foreigners in Egypt to be complicated by the presence of such a potentially hostile force.

The Egyptian Government responded in a conciliatory manner, agreeing to full discussion, but maintaining most of its contentions. It proposed to retain a British Inspector-General and to model the Egyptian Army upon British lines.

Turkey

A FORMAL announcement was made on May 20 that Joseph C. Grew, Under-Secretary of State, had been appointed Ambassador to Turkey. Mr. Grew, who has been in the American public service since 1904, is particularly prepared for his new position by a residence in Egypt from 1904 to 1906, and by his participation in the Lausanne Conference in 1922-23.

The Budget Commission arranged a balance of revenue and expenditure at $97,000,000.

Persia

ANNOUNCEMENT was made on April 26 by the Shah that he had instructed the Prime Minister to approach various foreign Governments with a view to the abolition of the capitulations. Two weeks later representatives of the Powers were notified that all special jurisdictional privileges would be abolished on May 10, 1928. This will end a régime that has lasted 100 years, since Russia and Persia signed the treaty of Turkomanchai, by which it was provided that disputes between Russian and Persian subjects should be settled only in the presence of an interpreter from the Russian legation or consulate. This privilege was extended to the citizens of other nations, and is in force today, except that Russia renounced her rights in 1921.

Early in May Parliament reduced the wages of Government employes by 10 per cent., having almost at the same moment increased their own salaries from $200 to $300 per month. On the following day the Government employes went on strike, and all postal and telegraph services were suspended. Next day Parliament rescinded its decision.

The seventeenth quarterly report by Dr. Millspaugh, Administrator General of the Finances of Persia, covers the period of three months ended Dec. 22, 1926. It calls attention to the continued marked improvement in the financial condition of the country. In particular the expenditure for public works has increased over that of four years ago from about $100,000 to about $2,500,000. In the same period the expenditure for public instruction has increased from about $700,000 to about $1,500,000, and that for public health from $120,000 to about $275,000. There has been a decrease in foreign commerce, due particularly to the commercial dispute with Russia.

Syria

SYRIA continued to await new proposals for its administration by the mandatory French Government. Quiet was reported everywhere, except that on May 21 it was announced that a band of 150 insurgents attempted to enter the Ghuta, or oasis of Damascus. They were reported to have lost 30 wounded and 40 killed, including their leader, the Emir Izz-ed-Din el Jezairi.

Palestine and Transjordania

MUNICIPAL elections were held in Palestine in April. Out of 3,900 voters in Jerusalem, 3,273 cast ballots, including 1,281 Moslems, 1,218 Jews, and 774 Christians. The party of the present Mayor, Ragheb Bey Nashasheby, won all but two of the places. The Council includes 5 Moslems, 4 Jews and 3 Christians.

M. Rutenberg, well known for his electrical projects in Palestine, during a ten-day stay at Amman in February obtained a concession of 6,000 acres in the region known as el-Ghur. A few weeks later a congress of Sheikhs and notables met at Amman to protest against the granting of these rights in advance of the creation and meeting of a Parliament.

Iraq

KING FEISAL was present at the inauguration of drilling operations of the Turkish Petroleum Company at Palkhana on April 5, this being the first attempt to open up the famous Mosul oil fields by modern methods, and a month later the King opened a refinery at Alwand. Iraq hopes to obtain cheap oil and gasoline from these two enterprises, besides large royalties as an addition to the public revenue.

The budget for 1927-1928 was approximately balanced at about $21,000,000.

Nationalist Armies Advance in China

By QUINCY WRIGHT
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ALTHOUGH reports of military movements were contradictory, it appeared at the time of this writing that the Northern armies under Chang Tso-lin and his determined Chief-of-Staff, General Yang Yu-tin, had suffered serious reverses; that the line separating the Ankuochun from the Kuomintang had moved from the Yangtse to the Yellow River; that the two factions of the Kuomintang had at least temporarily abandoned their feud and that Chang Tso-lin was anxious to negotiate a peace on the basis of Nationalist principles. The latter was reported to have said on June 6 that he had no quarrel with the principles of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, but only with those of Nikolai Lenin. If the Hankow radicals and the Christian General, Feng Yu-hsiang, who had been appointed their Commander-in-Chief, were eliminated, Chang said he would negotiate with Chiang Kai-shek, leader of the moderate Nationalists, and Yen Hsi-shan, the latter's recent ally and the model Governor of Shansi Province. Chang was said to be willing to allow Yen to occupy Tientsin as a non-belligerent while negotiations were going on.

How did this sudden turn of events take place? In the middle of May a Hankow army under General Tang Seng-chi started north in Honan Province, while Feng Yu-hsiang in Shensi started east with his long inactive army to meet them. Wu Pei-fu, who has been neutral with his army of some 50,000, finding himself in danger of being crushed between three armies, joined the Southerners, much to Chang Tso-lin's annoyance, with the result that the Northern forces under Han Lin-chung were forced to retreat north of the Yellow River.

In the meantime the moderate Nationalists under Chiang proceeded north from Nanking, taking Mingkwang and Pengpu in Anhwei Province on May 30 and penetrating into Shantung Province. These successes made the cause of the North desperate, especially when coupled with the movement of Yen Hsi-shan, who has been governing Shansi Province autocratically but well for fifteen years and has been neutral in the civil wars, though recently he was said to have devoted a good deal of attention to picking the winning side in order to be with it at the finish. Furthermore, Japan, who had been blocked by the Mukden Government in various railway and financial manoeuvres in Manchuria, turned against Chang and took up Chiang.

It is interesting to notice that the Southern successes were reported on May 30, the anniversary of the Shanghai incident of 1925, which gave a great impetus to Nationalism. It is still too early to estimate the gravity of the Northern defeat. On May 31 an Ankuochun spokesman described the retreat as tactical: "We are not beaten. The fight against Bolshevism will continue." Yang Yu-tin, who seems to be the Northern hope, is described by Walter Duranty as a determined lover of fighting, resembling General Smedley D. Butler, and prepared to make a vigorous counter-offensive. The Northern débâcle was all the more surprising in that it followed reports that the Hankow Government was about to fall before the combined attacks of the Northerners and the moderate Nationalists.

The difficulty of following the Chinese situation is enhanced by the varied interpretations of the same events by the correspondents reporting them. While the articles of one are headed "China's civil war is respectful and polite"; "Rival Chinese wage a battle of words," another viewing the same incident writes, "Severe battle fought"; "Enemies coming to grips." Undoubtedly Chinese enemies are less sharply differentiated and more capable of changing sides or compromising than European armies.

Coincident with the Northern movement of the theatre of civil war the Powers prepared to send forces to protect their citizens. An international defence force of 16,000 was said to be planned for Tientsin and Peking and the first contingent of about 2,000 Americans, the Sixth Regiment of Marines and the Tenth Artillery Regiment left Shanghai on June 2 under General Smedley D. Butler. They encamped at Tientsin, with the declaration that the object was "solely for the defense of life and property." Under the Boxer protocol of 1901 the Powers have the right to keep the Peking Tientsin Railway open, and apparently they intend to do so.

On April 24 Jules Saurwein of *Le Matin*, while explaining the lack of a vigorous Japanese policy in China by Japan's critical economic situation, nevertheless thought her insufficiently aware of the danger that "the Mongol Empire of the thirteenth century" would be reconstructed by the nationalization of Asia. A month later, on May 22, Japan was accused, in certain press reports, of broadcasting pessimism, failing to cooperate with the Powers, being unduly friendly with the Soviets, and, as an Asiatic country, secretly satisfied with the Bolshevist formula, "Asia for the Asiatics." On May 25 the press predicted Japanese recognition of Chiang Kai-shek's Nanking Government with the understanding, given by Chiang's new Foreign Minister, Dr. C. C. Wu, that her special interests in Manchuria would be respected. The Japanese decision to send 3,000 troops to protect her interests in Tsingtao and Tsinan in Shantung was announced on May 28, with the following proviso:

> The Japanese Government declares that, though they are dispatching troops as an unavoidable measure of self-defense, they have no intention whatever of keeping them for a prolonged period and the troops will be withdrawn immediately when the fear of danger to our residents in that region ceases to exist.

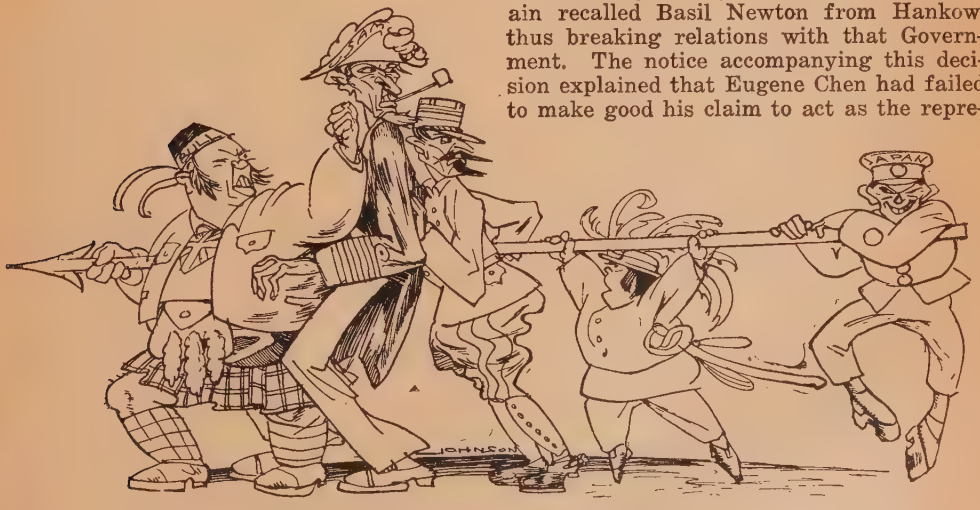
Nevertheless, foreign Powers at once began to hint that Japan was re-establishing the position in Shantung which she gave up as a result of Chino-Japanese negotiations during the Washington conference.

In spite of these troop movements, the Powers have indicated no political designs in regard to China. On May 3 President Coolidge made it clear that he had no intention of corresponding further on the Nanking incident, and the next day it was announced that the other Powers would follow suit. In a statement in the House of Commons on May 9 Sir Austen Chamberlain said: "We have decided that present application of sanctions for the outrages at Nanking, and a failure to observe the Hankow agreement is inexpedient, however justified." He laid blame for the Nanking incident upon the Communists, whose Government at Hankow was now "but the shadow of a name," while he exhibited a certain friendliness to Chiang Kai-shek:

> In these circumstances we do not intend to address any further note to Eugene Chen. We have so informed the other Powers. We have added that we reserve full liberty of action as to the future, and particularly respecting any further outrages which may be perpetrated on the British flag, British nationals or British property.

To this Eugene Chen replied that Chamberlain's reference "to my Government was ludicrous and deeply tragic in its ignorance." "Before three months have passed," he said, "we shall conquer our way to Peking, where, in the name of Nationalist China and of the Kuomintang, I will speak language which Chamberlain will be unable to ignore."

A few days later, on May 17, Great Britain recalled Basil Newton from Hankow, thus breaking relations with that Government. The notice accompanying this decision explained that Eugene Chen had failed to make good his claim to act as the repre-



THE POWERS' SUSPICIOUS SPEAR-HOLDER IN CHINA

The Four Powers in China to the Fifth (suspiciously): "Don't keep on holding to it every time we want to thrust them back, you false creature."

Japan: "Don't be angry, friends. I will thrust afterward—well afterward."

Kladderadatsch, Berlin

sentative of the Chinese Government and had shirked responsibility for the Nanking outrages, and that, therefore, it was "useless and undesirable to deal with a régime so totally incapable of the duties of civilized government." The United States did not follow suit.

In the meantime Dr. C. C. Wu, son of the late Wu Ting-fang, Minister to Washington during the Boxer period, had been chosen Foreign Minister of the Nanking Government. On May 13 he issued a long statement, pointing out the military successes of the Nationalists, deploring the "presence in the party of Communist influences at variance with the precepts of the Kuomintang, which had brought about an open split," but anticipating that "these influences" would "soon be completely eliminated and solidarity re-established among the followers of Dr. Sun Yat-sen." The statement read as follows:

> The Nationalist Government will exert every effort to protect foreign life and property, according to the generally accepted rules of international law. The resentment of the Chinese to the foreigner is not to him individually, but to the system under which he lives. The Chinese object not to the presence of the foreigner, but to his privileged position. They consider that the foreigner should be placed on an equality of footing among those with whom he has voluntarily chosen to live and trade.

As for the Russian Communists themselves, the two wings of the party appear widely separated on Chinese policy. Zinoviev, on May 10, regarded Chiang Kai-shek as a "scoundrel," while Bukharin, though advocating a peasant revolution, said: "So far as possible this must not be done in such a way as would give the enemies of the Chinese people a pretext to raise an outcry against the sovietization of China." The *Peasants' Newspaper* of Moscow designated Chiang's movement as "a bourgeois counter-revolution."

Incidents involving foreigners were frequently reported during May. Warship sniping went on along the Yangtse, and on May 12 the Nanking Government protested that American warships had fired into Chinese forts without provocation. Admiral Williams replied that no American vessel had fired first and that none would do so in the future, though they were under instructions to return fire. Senator Bingham of Connecticut regretted being relieved of $1,000 and a $500 moving picture camera by bandits while near Peking. Several missions were reported looted. The Hankow atmosphere, however, became suddenly less anti-foreign early in May. Though many foreigners had left, 250 Germans remained.

On April 30 sixty returned missionaries expressed satisfaction with the Chinese revolution as marking progress in enlightenment. "If war came as the result of enlightenment," said Dr. Jesse R. Wilson of the Student Volunteer Movement, "then war is inevitable. It is better to have war than ignorance." However, on May 9, Senator Borah urged a five-Power treaty "to put the ban of outlawry on war" with China.

Sir Esme Howard, British Ambassador, said on May 20 that the British Government had openly declared its readiness to revise all existing treaties so as to meet the Chinese wishes, and that, though the Nationalists had accepted assistance from Moscow, this did not prove them Communists; consequently, that there seemed to be no reason why negotiations could not proceed as soon as a government was recognized.

Japan

THE Japanese financial crisis improved slowly during May. On May 7 the Diet, by a vote of 210 to 194, censured the Privy Council for its refusal, on April 17, to approve the Imperial Ordinance for relieving the financial situation.

Mr. Junnosuke Inouye, said to be the ablest banker in Japan, was made Governor of the Bank of Japan on May 10, two days after the Diet passed the Financial Relief bill. On May 13 the banks opened after a three weeks' moratorium.

Viscount Korekiyo Takahashi resigned on June 2 as Finance Minister and was succeeded by Chuzo Mitauchi, former Minister of Education. Takahashi is advanced in years and expected to remain in office for only a short time.

One of the first acts of Premier Tanaka's Administration was to send a commission of three to investigate the condition of Japanese in the Yangtse Valley.

Siam

THE King of Siam, on March 25, publicly declared that his country had now achieved a position of full legal equality among the nations. The last of the Consular courts in Siam was closed by the ratification on March 25 of the treaties with Belgium and Luxemburg, and two days later the new customs tariff went into force.

NORTON, H. K.—*China and the Powers.* New York: Day, 1927. $4.00.

China's foreign relations since the establishment of the republic, by an American publicist.

PALMER, GENERAL J. M.—*Statesmanship and War.* New York: Doubleday, 1927. $2.50.

Suggests the adaptation of the Swiss system of national defense to American needs.

The Problems of Peace; Lectures Delivered at the Geneva Institute of International Relations, Aug., 1926. London: Oxford, 1927.

Lectures on the League, the international labor organization, foreign policy and the judicial settlement of international disputes.

RIPLEY, W. Z.—*Main Street and Wall Street.* Boston: Little Brown, 1927.

A constructive criticism of American financial and economic life.

ROGERS, C.—*Colonel Bob Ingersoll.* New York: Doubleday, 1927. $3.00.

A vivid narrative, in the style of the novelist rather than of the historian.

ROSE, J. HOLLAND.—*The Indecisiveness of Modern War, and other essays.* London: Bell, 1927. 10s 6d.

Historical essays on problems of war and national policy.

SAENZ, M., AND PRIESTLEY, H. I.—*Some Mexican Problems.* Chicago University, 1926. $2.00.

SALVEMINI, G.—*Fascist Dictatorship in Italy.* Vol. I. New York: Holt, 1927. $3.00.

A historical account. The second volume will treat of social and industrial changes. Severely critical of Mussolini.

SETON-WATSON, ROBERT W.—*Sarajevo: A Study of the Origins of the Great War.* London: Hutchinson, 1926. 18/.

By the leading British authority on Balkan affairs.

WHYTE, SIR FREDERICK.—*China and the Foreign Powers.* London: Milford, 1927. 2s 6d.

A short historical survey by a careful and accomplished English scholar and publicist.

WILSON, HENRY LANE.—*Diplomatic Episodes in Mexico, Belgium and Chile.* New York: Doubleday-Page, 1927. $4.00.

Reminiscences as Minister and Ambassador, 1897-1914. Mexican section particularly important.

WRANGEL, N.—*From Serfdom to Bolshevism; the Memoirs of Baron N. Wrangel.* Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1927. $4.00.

Reminiscences of Russian life from 1847 to 1920.

YOUNGHUSBAND, SIR FRANCIS.—*The Light of Experience.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1927. $4.00.

Memoirs of his life in South Africa, Russia, India and Central Asia.

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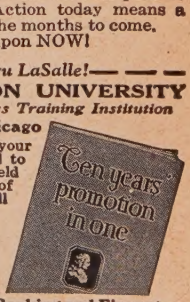

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